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# THE

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

DURING

# THE REIGN

OF

# GEORGE THE THIRD;

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By ROBERT SCOTT, Esq.

*Author of the Biographical Sketches in the 'Cabinet of Portraits,' &c.*

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EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

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# PREFACE.

THE extraordinary duration of the Reign of George the Third, the longest in the annals of English history, and the extreme importance of its events, must attach a peculiar interest to the present work. The progress of Britain in Arts and Arms during this period—her political ascendency in the affairs of Europe—the splendid achievements of her heroes—afford just cause for patriotic exultation. To the contemplative and inquiring mind, few subjects of greater importance, than a faithful and accurate history of this reign, can be submitted. Unswayed by party, knowing neither Whig nor Tory, but warmly attached to the Constitution, it will be our anxious aim to present the reader with an impartial narrative, in which will be developed the wonderful resources of the British Empire; the immense increase of its foreign possessions; and numberless other topics of the highest interest. The most authentic sources of information relative to the American war, the French revolution, and the important consequences, which resulted from those events,

will be explored with diligence, and detailed with fidelity. The great increase of the national debt, in the course of this reign, will also demand attention. When it was not a twentieth part of its present amount, it was thought necessary to reduce it by the appropriation of a fund to that special purpose; but the benefits anticipated from this measure, were much counteracted by the accession of fresh debt, during a long period of difficulties and dangers. The conduct and motives of public men, whose characters have been the subject of overzealous adulation on the one hand, and of indiscriminate censure on the other, will be fairly and fully discussed.

In arbitrary and despotic governments the temper and decision of the Sovereign are of vital importance; and although, under the British Constitution, a monarch can neither make nor unmake laws, his natural influence—his station in society—his example—all conspire to render his sentiments and his conduct important to the nation. George the Third was not unfavourable to constitutional freedom; one of the first acts of his reign was the appointment of the Judges for life, a measure which

emanated from the King himself, and, certainly, a most essential one to the independence of the bench. The suppression of general warrants was another important measure of his reign; and, although some of the restrictive acts, passed during this long period, can only be justified on the plea of necessity, much has been done for public liberty, much for religious liberty, and much for a race of men too long neglected and despised—our African brethren. If we had no other act to record, it would not fail to be held in perpetual remembrance, that in this reign the Negro-Slave-Trade was abolished by an act of the British legislature.

In private life the virtues of the late King would have reflected a lustre on any station. Elevated to a throne at the early age of twenty-two—surrounded by all the pomp, power, and affluence, which his heart could desire, he maintained an uniform course of moderation and virtue. His morals were most exemplary, his piety most fervent, his temperance almost proverbial. He was a munificent patron of the Fine Arts; in the encouragement of which he displayed taste and judgment. The Society of Artists was incorporated by Royal Charter, in

1765; and the Royal Academy, which was subsequently founded, first gave our artists an acknowledged title to public respect. He had a fine ear for music, in which he greatly delighted; and, although not a great reader, he collected an excellent library. Of his talent, Bishop Watson, whose veracity is undoubted, says, "In all the conversations I had with him, he appeared to me not to be at all deficient in quickness or intelligence."

Over his latter years it pleased the Almighty to throw a cloud, which necessarily obscured him from the public eye. As this deprived him of the pleasure of beholding the restoration of universal peace, an event which would have been so grateful to his mind, the affliction under which he laboured became a subject of additional regret; but as it spared him the deep affliction of beholding the loss of her who had been, for half a century, his beloved partner—the companion of his leisure hours—the mother of his children—at a time when the disappointment of the nation's hopes, in the early loss of the lamented Princess Charlotte, would still have hung on his memory, we are led to exclaim with the poet, "Whatever is, is right!"

# *HISTORY OF THE REIGN*

OF

# GEORGE THE THIRD.

## CHAPTER I.

*Effects of the partiality of George the Second to his native dominions—George the Third, his birth and family circumstances—Education and character—Accession---Proclamation--Earl of Bute's attachment to his sovereign—Determination of the King to prosecute the war—Interment of the late King—Addresses of condolence and congratulation—His Majesty's first speech to Parliament—Successes in America and East Indies—Operations of the combined armies—King of Prussia's successes—Naval power and commerce of England and France contrasted—Motives for continuing the war—Supplies—Civil List—Provision for the army and navy, and the support of the German allies—Reflections on the subsidies granted to Prussia—Compensation to the provinces of North America—Riot at Hexham—Ways and Means—Insolvent Debtors' Act—King's speech recommending the independence of the Judges—Dissolution of Parliament—Military operations in Germany—The King's sentiments on conquests—On elections—Measures relative to a negociation for peace—Mr. Pitt unfavourable to them—Intrigues of the French ministry at the court of Madrid—Difficulties about the mutual retaining of possessions—State of affairs in the East Indies—*

*In Africa—The Cherokees punished for their perfidy—Military operations in Germany—Conquest of Dominica—Expedition against Belleisle—Negociation for peace resumed—Proposals of France—Inflexibility of Mr. Pitt—Memorial concerning Spain—Family compact—Progress of negociation—Treaty broken off.*

THE accession of a native prince to the British throne was hailed with rapture, although the sudden death of George the Second occurred at a moment singularly favourable to his popularity. All the spots and blemishes in his character seemed to vanish in the blaze of glory which had been reflected on it by the late successes of his fleets and armies in every quarter of the globe. But these borrowed splendours could not long conceal the fatal effects of his partiality to his native dominions—a partiality to which not only the blood and treasure, but the valour, the virtue, and public spirit of the British nation had been repeatedly sacrificed. The aggrandisement of his darling electorate, and the support of all his schemes for preserving an imaginary balance between the continental powers, whatever might be the expense to England, were the only conditions on which any ministry could obtain his favour, or secure their own continuance in office. As none were admitted into his confidence but on these terms, so none were dismissed but from their inability to fulfil such engagements. Every change of his servants was therefore a fresh wound inflicted on the real interests of this country, as it implied that some of its former and its ablest champions were bribed into the King's measures by the gratifications of avarice, or the more fascinating allurements of ambition. The frequent shifting of power through such a variety of hands, and from motives so inconsistent with liberal policy, was productive

of another evil: it scattered the seeds of disunion among all the great families of the kingdom, and prepared for the succeeding prince a series of struggles with the intrigues of party, and the turbulence of domestic factions, more vexatious than any combination of foreign enemies.

George the Third, the son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and of Augusta, Princess of Saxe-Gotha, was born in Norfolk House, Leicester Square, on the 4th of June, 1738. Unfortunately for the young monarch, George the Second had always entertained a jealousy towards the Princess-dowager of Wales, in consequence of the opposition which her late husband had manifested towards the measures of the government: thus the heir-apparent was precluded from frequenting the court, by which means he was wholly unacquainted with the sentiments and manners of those who composed his grandfather's administration. On the death of his father he was placed under the care of the Princess-dowager, who attended to his education with maternal solicitude, and which was always conducted in the most private manner. The neglect evinced towards the heir-apparent and his mother, extending even to the Duke of Cumberland and Princess Amelia, encouraged Lord Harcourt, the governor to the young Prince, and Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, his preceptor, to exert their influence in alienating the affections of their pupil from those who enjoyed the favour of his deceased parent; and, by their example and discourse, imparted sentiments of disrespect even towards the Princess-dowager; for which, at a subsequent period, the Prince acknowledged his error, with honest contrition and suitable apologies. In consequence of these efforts, arising entirely from motives of ambition, a division arose among those to whom the instruction of the young Prince was confided; and a representation was made to the

King, in 1752, that Mr. Stone, sub-governor to his grandson, was an improper person to be intrusted with his education: he was accused of having, more than twenty years before that time, drank the Pretender's health in public. The matter was referred by the King to the cabinet council, by whom Mr. Stone was ordered to defend himself, and with him appeared Mr. Murray, afterwards Lord Mansfield, and Dr. Johnson, Bishop of Gloucester, whose characters had, in some measure, been implicated in the charge. They all acquitted themselves in a manner perfectly satisfactory, and the Lords unanimously represented to the King, that there was no foundation for the charge. In consequence of this decision, Lord Harcourt and Dr. Hayter declared they would resign unless Mr. Stone, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Cresset, secretary to the Princess-dowager, were dismissed; but the King heard their complaints with indifference, and accepted their proffered resignations; when Lord Waldegrave was appointed governor, and the Bishop of Peterborough preceptor.

The Prince received the instructions of his new preceptor with much satisfaction, and great hopes were entertained of the advantage he would derive from his tutor, every means being used to imbue his mind with a just notion of the British constitution and jurisprudence. The Princess, with the view of instilling in the mind of her son the principles and practice of religion, invited the learned and pious Dr. Stephen Hales into her family, and appointed him clerk of the closet. Her good intentions were greatly favoured by the disposition of the Prince, who was affectionate, gentle, and exempt from every appearance of vicious inclination. The dread which the Princess constantly entertained that his morals would be contaminated by the example of the young nobility, prevented his mixing with them in familiar intercourse, and his acquaintance was almost con-

fined to the social circle of Leicester House, which was select, cheerful, and unrestrained.

No prince ever ascended the throne of Great Britain under happier auspices than those which attended the elevation of George the Third; yet no English prince was ever less known to the subjects whom Providence had decreed he should one day govern. Instead of making himself familiar to the eyes of the public, mingling with society, giving way to the ebullitions of youth, and sometimes countenancing the gayer follies of the age, in imitation of former princes destined to sway the sceptre of England, who thus at once indulged their own passions and acquired popularity, he preserved the laws of temperance and decorum inviolate; he restrained all the inordinate sallies of youth: sequestered from all participation in the measures of government, he lived within the bosom of retirement, surrounded by a few friends and dependants, to whom the virtues of his disposition were known.

The death of George the Second having been notified in form to the heir-apparent, who was then at Kew, he immediately repaired to Carlton House, to meet the privy-council. As soon as the members had taken the customary oaths of fidelity to their new sovereign, he expressed his deep sense of the loss sustained by the nation, and of his own insufficiency to support, as he wished, the load which fell upon him at so critical and unexpected a juncture. "But," said he, "animated by the tenderest affection for my native country, and depending upon the advice, experience, and abilities of your lordships, and on the support of every honest man, I enter with cheerfulness into this arduous situation, and shall make it the business of my life to promote in every thing the glory and happiness of these kingdoms, to preserve and strengthen the constitution in both church and state; and as I mount the

throne in the midst of an expensive, but just and necessary war, I shall endeavour to prosecute it in the manner the most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies." This declaration was ordered to be made public, at the request of all the members present. They also witnessed two instruments of an oath relating to the security of the church of Scotland, which was taken and subscribed by his Majesty on this occasion, as the law required.

Next morning his Majesty was proclaimed with the usual solemnities; and the following day, having added the Duke of York and the Earl of Bute to his privy-council, he ordered the Parliament to be prorogued to the 18th of November. The Earl of Bute, who had been attached to his sovereign's father from personal regard, felt an equal affection for the son, whom he may be said to have cultivated from his cradle. He concurred in forming his young mind to virtue; in storing it with ideas and sentiments suitable to his birth and expectation; in improving his taste, and directing his pursuit of knowledge. He was the constant companion of his solitude, whom he honoured with his friendship; the bosom counsellor, on whose judgment and fidelity he with the most perfect confidence reposed. His Majesty, by proclamation, required all persons who were in office or authority of government at the decease of the late King, to proceed in the execution of their respective offices. Another proclamation was issued, for the encouragement of piety and virtue, and for preventing and punishing vice and immorality.

With the crown, the young monarch inherited a war, which he thought it his duty to prosecute with vigour, until it could be terminated by a general peace, in which the honour and advantage of the nation might be equally consulted. It was therefore agreed, in an extraordinary council assembled

on purpose, that the armament at Portsmouth should proceed on the expedition for which it was originally intended; but it was countermanded in the sequel.

In the evening of the 10th day of November, the body of the late King was removed from Kensington to the apartment called the Prince's Chamber, near the House of Peers, where it lay in state till next night, when it was interred, with great funeral pomp, in the royal vault, in the chapel of Henry the Seventh adjoining to Westminster Abbey, the Duke of Cumberland appearing as chief mourner.

Addresses of condolence on the demise of the late King, and of joy and congratulation on the accession of his grandson, were presented from every quarter of the kingdom, and the great body of the people testified, by every demonstration, their supreme delight to see the throne at length filled by a prince who was born and bred among them;—who was acquainted with their language and manners, with their laws and constitution;—and whose attachment, therefore to his native land must supersede every other consideration, and consequently exclude all idea of those predilections for Germany, which in the two preceding reigns had influenced the cabinet councils, and been productive of measures injurious to Great Britain.

On the day to which the meeting of Parliament had been prorogued, the King went to the House of Peers, and opened the session with the following speech:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The just concern which I have felt in my own breast, on the sudden death of the late King, my royal grandfather, makes me not doubt but you must all have been deeply affected with so severe a loss. The present critical and difficult conjuncture has made this loss the more sensible, as he was the great support of that system, by which alone the

liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of these kingdoms can be preserved, and gave life to measures conducive to those important ends.

"I need not tell you the addition of weight which immediately falls upon me, in being called to the government of this free and powerful country at such a time, and under such circumstances. My consolation is in the uprightness of my own intentions, your faithful and united assistance, and the blessing of Heaven upon our joint endeavours, which I devoutly implore.

"Born and educated in this country, I GLORY IN THE NAME OF BRITON; and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the greatest and most permanent security of my throne; and I doubt not but their steadiness in those principles will equal the firmness of my invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state, and to maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and religious rights of my loving subjects are equally dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of my crown; and, as the surest foundation of the whole, and the best means to draw down the Divine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose to countenance and encourage the practice of true religion and virtue.

"I reflect with pleasure on the successes with which the British arms have been prospered this last summer. The total reduction of the vast province of Canada, with the city of Montreal, is of the most interesting consequence, and must be as heavy a blow to my enemies, as it is a conquest glorious to us; the more glorious, because effected almost without effusion of blood, and with that humanity which marks an amiable part of the character of this nation.

"Our advantages gained in the East Indies have

been signal, and must greatly diminish the strength and trade of France in those parts, as well as procure the most solid benefits to the commerce and wealth of my subjects.

"In Germany, where the whole French force has been employed, the combined army under the wise and able conduct of my general, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, has not only stopped their progress, but has gained advantages over them, notwithstanding their boasted superiority, and their not having hitherto come to a general engagement.

"My good brother and ally, the King of Prussia, although surrounded with numerous armies of enemies, has, with a magnanimity and perseverance almost beyond example, not only withstood their various attacks, but has obtained considerable victories over them.

"Of these events I shall say no more at this time, because the nature of the war in those parts has kept the campaign there still depending.

"As my navy is the principal article of our natural strength, it gives me much satisfaction to receive it in such good condition; whilst the fleet of France is weakened to such a degree, that the small remains of it have continued blocked up by my ships in their own ports; at the same time the French trade is reduced to the lowest ebb; and with joy of heart I see the commerce of my kingdoms, that great source of our riches, and fixed object of my never-failing care and protection, flourishing to an extent unknown in any former war.

"The valour and intrepidity of my officers and forces, both at sea and land, have been distinguished so much to the glory of this nation, that I should be wanting in justice to them, if I did not acknowledge it. This is a merit which I shall constantly encourage and reward; and I take this occasion to declare, that the zealous and useful service of the

militia in the present arduous conjuncture, is very acceptable to me.

"In this state I have found things at my accession to the throne of my ancestors; happy in viewing the prosperous part of it, happier still should I have been, had I found my kingdoms, whose true interest I have entirely at heart, in full peace: but since the ambition, injurious encroachments, and dangerous designs of my enemies, rendered the war both just and necessary, and the generous overture, made last winter, towards a congress for a pacification has not yet produced any suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour, in order to that desirable object, a safe and honourable peace. For this purpose, it is absolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"The greatest uneasiness which I feel at this time, is in considering the uncommon burdens, necessarily brought upon my subjects. I desire only such supplies as shall be requisite to prosecute the war with advantage; be adequate to the necessary services; and that they may be provided for in the most sure and effectual manner. You may depend upon the faithful and punctual application of what shall be granted. I have ordered the proper estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before you; and also an account of the extraordinary expenses, which, from the nature of the different and remote operations, have been unavoidably incurred.

"It is with peculiar reluctance that I am obliged, at such a time, to mention any thing which personally regards myself. But, as the grant of the greatest

part of the civil list revenues is now determined, I trust in your duty and affection to me, to make the proper provision for supporting my civil government with honour and dignity. On my part, you may be assured of a regular and becoming economy.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The eyes of all Europe are upon you. From your resolutions the Protestant interest hopes for protection, as well as all our friends for the preservation of their independency; and our enemies fear the final disappointment of their ambitious and destructive views. Let these hopes and fears be confirmed and augmented by the vigour, unanimity, and dispatch of our proceedings.

"In these expectations I am the more encouraged by a pleasing circumstance, which I look upon as one of the most auspicious omens of my reign. That happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony which continue to prevail amongst my subjects, afford me the most agreeable prospect. The natural disposition and wish of my heart are to cement and promote them; and I promise myself that nothing will arise on your part to interrupt or disturb a situation so essential to the true and lasting felicity of this great people."

This speech, which his Majesty delivered with the utmost energy, grace, and dignity, could not fail of confirming all the former prepossessions of the people in his favour. Every noble, patriotic, and endearing sentiment that it contained, produced a corresponding emotion in the minds of his hearers; and the whole nation read it with eagerness and rapture. The addresses of the Lords and Commons were dictated by the same spirit, and were most heartily concurred in by every lover of his country.

His Majesty's first speech to the representatives of the nation is highly deserving of historical notice on another account; as it contained a short review

of the late successes of the British arms, and a very interesting survey of the posture of affairs both at home and abroad at that period. The leading point was the reduction of Montreal, and of the entire province of Canada; an event of the greater importance, as it seemed to complete the object of the war, which was the humiliation of the French in that part of the world, where they had begun their unjust and daring encroachments. It was no small addition to the glory resulting from this conquest, that it was effected by General Amherst's judicious disposition of the forces under his command, without the necessity of striking a blow; and that the victorious troops behaved with the utmost humanity to the conquered, both Indians and French, though the one had perpetrated, and the other had certainly connived at, the most horrid cruelties on the English prisoners.

The advantages gained in the East Indies were as signal and decisive as those in America. The last dispatches from that quarter brought advice that the French, after having been defeated in every encounter, and driven from post to post, were at length reduced to the single fort of Pondicherry; and that this, their last hold, was so closely blocked up by sea and land, as to leave little doubt of its speedy surrender. Colonel Coote and his brave troops took possession of it on the 15th of January, 1761, and thereby secured to his country the unrivalled command of the most extensive and profitable sphere of commerce in the world.

Of the operations of the combined army of Westphalia, his Majesty spoke with great delicacy and caution. The campaign there was still depending, and a vigorous attempt was meditated against Gottingen, the boundary of the French progress into Hanover. The failure of this enterprise, which was as much owing to the lateness of the season and

the heavy rains, as to the spirited efforts of the garrison, determined Prince Ferdinand to retire into winter quarters, about the middle of December, with the satisfaction, at least, of having checked the career of an enemy, whose great superiority of numbers had been deemed irresistible.

The magnanimity and perseverance of the King of Prussia, the inexhaustible resources of his genius in the most dangerous and difficult situations, and his recent victory over the grand Austrian army at Torgau, afforded much more specious subjects of panegyric. His courage and conduct, particularly on this last occasion, were indeed astonishing. With only 50,000 men, he routed an army of 80,000, under an able and experienced commander, and in a seemingly impregnable camp. This single blow counterbalanced all the losses he had sustained during the whole campaign. It made him once more master of all Saxony, except Dresden ; and enabled him to canton and recruit his troops in that electorate, instead of being obliged to quarter them in his own wasted dominions. The shock of it seemed also to be felt in every other hostile quarter. Laudohn abruptly raised the blockade of Cassel, and evacuated Silesia. The Russians abandoned the siege of Colberg in Eastern Pomerania, and fell back into Poland ; while the Swedes were driven with great loss out of Western Pomerania, and forced to take refuge under the cannon of Strahlsund. Some stress was therefore very naturally laid on these victories in a speech, one object of which was to secure the concurrence of Parliament in supporting so brave an ally.

His Majesty's remarks on the naval power and flourishing commerce of England, contrasted with the ruin of both in France, gave, as it were, the finishing touches to this picture of the state in which he found things at his accession to the throne.

The French fleets had not recovered from the terrible blows given them by Boscawen and Hawke in the year 1759. Their small remains continued from that time blocked up in their own ports, not daring to renew the unequal contest, and incapable of affording the least protection to their maritime trade. The squadrons of Great Britain, on the contrary, rode triumphant in every sea; and her commerce, being exposed to very little annoyance, was carried on with uncommon spirit and success.

George the Third could not immediately adopt new measures, without passing a direct censure on the conduct of his predecessor, as well as on the counsels of the very men whom he still continued in office. The dignity of the crown, and the honour of the public faith, seemed also in some degree pledged to support the German confederacy, after the important steps that had been taken in conjunction with those allies, and the encouragement given them to persevere in their arduous struggles. From these motives, therefore, his Majesty was induced to renew, in the presence of his Parliament, the declaration before made to his council, that he was resolved to continue the war with the former vigour.

The Commons immediately proceeded with liberality and dispatch to provide for all the possible exigencies of the state. They immediately established a committee of supply, which was continued to the 6th of March; and in pursuance of the reports and resolutions of that committee, the Commons voted a variety of sums for the service of the ensuing year, amounting in the whole to 19,616,119*l.* 19*s.* 9$\frac{3}{4}$*d.* A detail of all the different purposes for which the several sums were specifically granted, would be tedious and useless; but a few of them appear deserving of particular notice.

On the 25th of November, the chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the House, that his Majesty "was pleased to signify his consent, that whenever the House should enter upon the consideration of making provision for the support of his household, and the honour and dignity of his crown, such disposition might be made of his Majesty's interest in the hereditary revenues of the crown, as might best conduce to the utility and satisfaction of the public." In consequence of this message the House came to a resolution next day, that the said hereditary revenues be carried to, and made part of the aggregate fund; and that, in lieu thereof, there should be granted to his Majesty such a revenue as should amount to the clear yearly sum of 800,000*l.* to commence from the demise of his late Majesty. This resolution was equally beneficial to the crown and satisfactory to the public at large; for although the funds appropriated to the payment of the civil list revenue ought to have produced a great deal more, yet it appeared by the accounts laid before the House, that the receipts of his late Majesty, during the thirty-three years of his reign, had constantly fallen short of that sum. The proposed supplies, therefore, were in reality withheld, or diminished by the frauds of the collectors. But by the above plan the income of the crown became certain, and the people were relieved from the most grievous of all taxes, that of embezzlement. After providing by various grants for the maintenance of the British forces and seamen employed at home and abroad, the Commons proceeded, according to their promise, to enable his Majesty to give the most effectual support to his German allies.

No part of this contribution was voted with more cheerfulness than the subsidy to Prussia. The news of the battle of Torgau had reached England

just before the meeting of Parliament; and the circumstantial account and confirmation of that splendid victory, with which Baron Coceij, the King of Prussia's aid-de-camp, arrived a few days after, did not fail to operate very powerfully in his master's favour. The annual treaty between the courts was renewed on the 12th of December; and, on the 23d of the same month, the Commons agreed to the resolution of the committee of supply, to enable his Majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia. The popularity of these proceedings, however, did not shield them from the censure of some very able political writers at that time. They represented the money given to the King of Prussia in the odious light of a tribute, as not being calculated to secure his aid, but to purchase his forbearance. They asserted, that, by the very terms of the bargain, he did not oblige himself to yield any specific assistance, but merely promised, on his part, "to employ the said sum in maintaining and augmenting his forces, which were to act in the manner the most advantageous to the common cause, and the most conducive to the end proposed by their Majesties, of reciprocal defence and mutual security." What, said they, has he done in return for the immense sums already received from this country? He has invaded, seized, and oppressed a Protestant electorate: he has lighted up a civil war in Germany, which is still fed with the ravages of the finest provinces, and with the lives of numberless thousands of his own subjects, as well as those of other states: he has involved Great Britain in a quarrel with the head and diet of the empire, and tempted her to employ her chief strength in the most ruinous struggles on the continent, instead of exerting it in enterprises at sea, that proper sphere of action, in which she has always been crowned with equal

advantage and glory: he has compelled the Queen of Hungary to unite with France, and, by ceding Nieuport and Ostend to that encroaching power, given up in a great measure the advantages of the barrier treaty, which England gained at a prodigious expense of blood and treasure. There was a great deal of truth in these remarks, though too much imbittered by the violénce of party spirit. Whether they made any impression or not, it is certain that the first favourable opportunity was embraced to loosen the ties of so impolitic and expensive a connexion.

The grant of 300,000*l.* voted by the Commons on the 20th of January, 1761, to enable his Majesty to give a proper compensation to the provinces in North America for the expenses incurred by them in the levying, clothing, and pay of their troops, though not more popular than the King of Prussia's subsidy, was certainly much more unexceptionable. The states had acted with the utmost vigour and dispatch in the raising and equipment of those troops; and the troops themselves, particularly the Virginians, had displayed uncommon firmness and courage in several perilous situations; and had, upon every occasion that offered, co-operated with the forces of the mother country in the most hearty and effectual manner. It is true, they were fighting in defence of their own lands and property; but those lands were part of the dominions of Great Britain, and she was almost as deeply interested in the preservation of that property as its immediate possessors.

The national militia, which had of late years been formed and trained to perfect discipline, was now become an object of the first importance. Its services were graciously acknowledged in the King's speech; and the committee of supply took care, among their earliest resolutions in November, to

allot sufficient sums to defray the incidental expenses of the newly established force for the year 1761. But the attention of Parliament to the proper support of those natural defenders of the country could not every where reconcile the populace to all the necessary regulations of so valuable an establishment. As the militia in the northern counties had already served the term of three years, prescribed by law, it became requisite to ballot for a succession of men; and the deputy-lieutenants and justices of the peace, for the county of Northumberland, accordingly met at Hexham on the 9th of March for that purpose. The common people being determined to oppose the measure, which they now looked upon as an insupportable grievance, though they had been very clamorous for it but a few years before, assembled to the number of 5000, of both sexes, and of all ages, some of them armed with bludgeons, and others with pikes and fire-locks. The justices, apprehensive of some such disorder, had procured a battalion of the Yorkshire militia for their guard, and these were drawn up in the market-place. The public crier had also been sent about the town to desire the inhabitants to keep within doors, and to declare that in case of any riot or commotion, the militia should immediately proceed to extremities. The mob, reinforced by a large body of pitmen from the collieries, ridiculed the menace, saying, that there were forty of them to one soldier, and that, if the militia dared to fire, they would not leave a man of them alive. Such desperate audacity on one side, and the firm resolution of the magistrates on the other, afforded an alarming presage of what was likely to happen. About twelve o'clock the fury of the populace began to manifest itself: they seemed resolved to force their way through the guard to the moot-hall, where the magistrates were

sitting: the militia for some time endured their insults, and even their blows, with astonishing coolness and temper: the riot-act was read, and the people were exhorted to retire to their respective habitations. But, instead of complying with this advice, they became more untractable. Encouraged by the forbearance of the militia, which they ascribed to fear, they assaulted the troops as they stood in order of battle, and shot an ensign and two privates dead. The militia thus exasperated, poured in upon them a regular discharge, by which 45 of the populace were killed upon the spot, and 300 wounded. The survivors immediately betook themselves to flight: hundreds ran into the river; and several of the wounded dropped down in their retreat. The most lamentable part of this disaster was a circumstance which too often attends such scenes of violence: some unfortunate women and children, drawn thither by curiosity, or the more laudable motive of persuading their husbands or parents to retire, were confounded with the mob, and fell victims to the undistinguishing vengeance of the day. A party of light horse, which was directly ordered to Hexham by Lord Ligonier, and the exertions of the neighbouring gentry, prevented any farther mischief. One of the ringleaders was tried and executed for an example.

One of the articles fixed upon by the committee of ways and means, for raising the supplies, seemed to threaten a more dangerous commotion in the capital, than that which the renewal of the militia had excited in a distant county. The interest of a loan of 12,000,000*l.* was to be paid by an additional duty of three shillings per barrel on all strong beer or ale, the sinking fund being a collateral security. This tax, in addition to the former duties of excise on beer, excited a great outcry among the lower classes of people. Menacing letters were sent to

the supposed advisers of the duty; the streets resounded with the noise of vulgar discontent; and expressions of disrespect for the young Sovereign were loudly uttered at the theatres, even in his presence, although the measure had been determined upon before his accession to the throne. When the brewers began to raise the price of their liquor, some of the publicans in London and Westminster resolved to demand one halfpenny extraordinary for every quart of porter; but as the latter did not act in concert, those houses in which the experiment was tried were immediately deserted by their customers. Several months elapsed before this matter could be gradually brought about; nor was it effected at last without much disturbance. Both brewers and publicans were with difficulty protected from the threats of the populace.

Petitions in favour of confined debtors had of late been presented to the House. The hopes of the applicants were greatly encouraged by the accession and character of the new Sovereign, an accession to the throne being generally distinguished by acts of grace. They had also, at this juncture, other claims to the consideration of the legislature; all the prisons in the kingdom were crowded, and many thousands of valuable subjects lost to society, at a time when the people were thinned by a consuming war, and when several manufactures were standing still for want of workmen. The Commons were not inattentive to remonstrances so well supported by humanity and policy. A bill soon passed into an act for the relief of such unfortunate captives, and containing a clause framed with a view to perpetual, but well regulated indulgence. By it, any creditor might compel a prisoner, charged in execution, to appear at the quarter-sessions with the copy of his detainer, and to deliver upon oath a just schedule of his estate.

After producing and subscribing the schedule, he was to be discharged; but, if he refused to do so, or concealed to the value of 20*l.* he was to suffer as a felon. This clause seemed likely to be productive of the best effects: while it re-united to the community many members, of whose industry it would otherwise have been deprived, and guarded the personal liberty of honest, but unfortunate men, from cruel or capricious shackles, it was designed to operate as a penal check on persons of a different description, who might be inclined to continue in prison, and to spend their substance there, rather than give up their property for the satisfaction of their creditors. But the laudable intentions of the legislature were defeated, and its clemency abused by fraud and collusion. Great numbers of people in all stations of life seized this opportunity of disencumbering themselves of their debts. They prevailed on some friend or relation first to throw them into prison, and then to act the part of compelling creditor; an artifice, by which the gaols were filled with a constant succession of voluntary captives, and many persons were ruined by this new species of knavery. The alarm, in consequence, was so great, and personal credit, which is the very life of trade, received such a shock, that the common council of London instructed their representatives in the new Parliament to use their best endeavours to procure the repeal of the compulsive clause, as a manifest grievance to the public.

In the beginning of March the King proposed a step for securing the independency of the judges, which was justly admired as an eminent proof of his Majesty's candour, moderation, and public spirit. Having gone to the House of Lords to give his assent to some bills then ready, he commanded the attendance of the Commons, and explained his purpose in the following manner:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"Upon granting new commissions to the judges, the present state of their offices fell naturally under consideration.

"In consequence of the act passed in the reign of my late glorious predecessor, King William the Third, for settling the succession of the crown in my family, their commissions have been made during their good behaviour; but, notwithstanding that wise provision, their offices have determined upon the demise of the crown, or at the expiration of six months afterwards, in every instance of that nature which has happened.

"I look upon the independency and uprightness of the judges of the land, as essential to the impartial administration of justice; as one of the best securities to the rights and liberties of my loving subjects; and as most conducive to the honour of my crown; and I come now to recommend this interesting object to the consideration of Parliament, in order that such farther provision may be made for securing the judges in the enjoyment of their offices, during their good behaviour, notwithstanding any such demise, as shall be most expedient.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I must desire of you, in particular, that I may be enabled to grant, and establish upon the judges, such salaries as I shall think proper, so as to be absolutely secured to them during the continuance of their commissions.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I have nothing to add, but my thanks for the great unanimity and application with which you have hitherto carried on the public business; and to desire you to proceed with the same good disposition, and with such dispatch, that this session may soon be brought to a happy conclusion"

This speech was received with the applause due

to such a declaration. Three addresses of thanks were almost immediately resolved upon, and presented to his Majesty next day, March the 4th; one from the Lords; a second from the Judges, as the immediate objects of his gracious regard; and a third from the Commons, to whom he had more particularly addressed himself. These proceedings were converted into so many resolutions of the House, on the 5th of March, and became the basis of a law, by which the independency of the bench was secured. Mr. Onslow, who had filled the Speaker's chair with ability for more than thirty-three years, declared his intention to retire, and a pension of 3000*l.* for his own life and that of his son, was awarded as a mark of respect for his long and eminent services.

The term appointed by law for the expiration of the Parliament being now arrived, and all the bills having received the royal sanction, the King closed the session on the 19th of March with a speech to both Houses, expressive of his entire satisfaction in their proceedings.

As the French had obtained signal advantages over the allies in the last campaign, Prince Ferdinand determined to open the ensuing very early, convinced that the enemy were little qualified for a winter campaign in Germany: he therefore resolved to strike the first blow; and having, on the 9th of February, assembled his forces at three different places of rendezvous with all possible secrecy, he communicated his designs to his generals next day, and immediately began to carry them into execution. By his sudden, extensive, and vigorous attack, the French were thrown in the utmost consternation. They retreated, or rather fled, on every side; and there is great reason to suppose that, if they had been quartered in an open country, their army would have been totally destroyed. But, happily

for them, they had very sufficient means of securing their retreat; and Fritzlar was the first place on which the hereditary Prince made an attack, with only a few battalions and musquetry, having been informed that he might easily surprise it. But he was deceived in his intelligence: he found the garrison prepared and resolute: after an assault, therefore, conducted with his usual spirit, he was obliged to draw off with no inconsiderable loss. Marpurg, another of the French garrisons, was attempted in the same manner, and with no better success, by a brave Hanoverian officer, who lost his life in the enterprise. These two severe checks at the outset of their operations did not discourage the allies, but taught them to proceed with more caution. Cannon and mortars, which the hereditary Prince had before neglected, were brought before Fritzlar, and soon obliged it to surrender. A large magazine was found there. Some forts and castles in the neighbourhood were also reduced by the Marquis of Granby. The victorious troops then continued their progress, the French gradually abandoning post after post, till they were nearly driven to the banks of the Maine. In their retreat they set fire to their magazines; but the allies pursued with such rapidity, that they saved five capital stores, one of which contained no less than 80,000 sacks of meal, 50,000 sacks of oats, and 1,000,000 rations of hay, a very small part of which had been destroyed. These acquisitions were of the utmost advantage: and it was almost impossible that the troops could otherwise have been supplied with subsistence, and the horse with provender, in such a season, and at so great a distance from their original quarters.

The siege of Cassel in particular attracted the notice of Prince Ferdinand, and required his utmost vigilance. His Royal Highness knew very well, if that garrison could be taken, Gottingen, and the

inferior places, must inevitably fall into his hands, which would be of much greater importance than the most brilliant victory in the field. Nothing, of course, was left undone which could accelerate and secure that contest: trenches were opened on the 1st of March, and every effort of vigour and judgment called forth in an enterprise, on the success of which the whole fortune of the campaign depended. In the mean time, General Sporken, and the troops under his command, who had taken their route to the left, on the side of Saxony, advanced with an intrepidity equal to the rest of the allied forces. Having been joined by a corps of the Prussians, they attacked the Saxons in one of their strongest posts on the Unstrut, and totally defeated them. A great number were killed in the action, five entire battalions were made prisoners, and several pieces of cannon were taken, besides a large magazine, which the routed enemy had not time to destroy. This blow was well followed: one body of the combined army pushed on to Eisemach and Gotha, whilst another, by forced marches, got forward to Fulda: the French gave way on their right, and the army of the empire on the left, abandoning a very large track of country to their pursuers. Such was the flattering posture of affairs when the King was about to put an end to the session of Parliament. But this extraordinary course of prosperity was not of long continuance. The allies were obliged to undertake too many enterprises at the same time, and these too arduous for the number of which their army consisted. The siege of Cassel gave full employment to a considerable division of their forces: another party, and that no small one, was occupied in the blockade of Ziengenhayn: General Sporken had 11,000 men engaged in the important services before described, to the eastward of the Fulda; and

the hereditary Prince, with his detachment, was advanced in front of the cantonments of the main body, to watch the motions, and oppose any sudden attempt of Marshal Broglio; who, as soon as he had collected all his forces, advanced without delay. The troops under the hereditary Prince were attacked by the dragoons of the enemy, whose charge was so impetuous as instantly to break the whole foot, consisting of nine regiments, Hanoverians, Hessians, and Brunswickers; 2,000 prisoners, and several trophies of victory, fell into the hands of the French, though very few were killed or wounded on either side. This blow was decisive. The allies could no longer think of maintaining their ground. They broke up the blockade of Ziengenhayn; raised the siege of Cassel, after twenty-seven days' open trenches; and evacuated the whole country of Hesse, retiring behind the Dymel, and falling back nearly to the quarters they possessed before this undertaking. But notwithstanding the failure of their expedition in other respects, they accomplished one important purpose in the destruction or seizure of so many of the principal magazines of the enemy; by which the French were disabled from taking the field till the end of June, however eager they might be to improve their advantages, or to avail themselves any farther of the superiority of their numbers.

As it was in the moment of the most astonishing success that the King of Great Britain took notice of the operations of the allied army, he showed great wisdom in adding, "that the only use he proposed to make of such victories, and of the important acquisitions gained in various parts of the world, was to secure and promote the welfare of his kingdoms, and to procure to them the blessings of peace on safe and honourable conditions." This well-timed declaration of his sentiments, with

respect to the proper end of the war, led his Majesty to be equally explicit on another point, which had an admirable effect at the conclusion of his speech. "Firm," said he, "in these resolutions, I do, with entire confidence, rely on the good dispositions of my faithful subjects in the choice of their representatives; and I make no doubt but they will thereby demonstrate the sincerity of those assurances, which have been so cordially and universally given me, in the loyal, affectionate, and unanimous addresses of my people." It was impossible for his Majesty to express in more delicate terms his firm purpose not to intermeddle with the freedom of election, but to leave his subjects in the full and unbiassed exercise of their own discernment. He told his ministers that, "as his whole ambition was to render the nation flourishing and happy, he would trust entirely to the loyalty of his people, not doubting that their affection would sufficiently strengthen the hands of his government." With such patriotic sentiments the King took his farewell of the Parliament, which was immediately dissolved, and writs were issued for the election of new members.

The liberal supplies granted by Parliament for the ensuing campaign on the continent, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war in general, astonished all Europe, and made the courts of Vienna and Versailles sensible of the necessity of proposing terms of peace. They had slighted some overtures made by the Kings of England and Prussia in the close of the year 1759: but the posture of affairs at that time rendered it very evident that those offers were dictated by a wish to keep up the show of moderation in the height of prosperity, and to reconcile the subjects of the former sovereign to what must then appear a necessary continuance of the war, rather than by a hope that the adverse parties

would pay any serious regard to such proposals. As the advantages were almost wholly on the side of Great Britain, France could not then expect very favourable terms for herself or her allies. She therefore looked forward to the issue of another campaign in Germany, to counterbalance her losses elsewhere, and to place her, at least, on a footing of honourable equality. In this, however, she met with some disappointment. The success of the war proved so fluctuating, even where all her hopes lay, and where her utmost strength was exerted, that she at length began, apparently, to desire peace in earnest. The other members of the grand alliance could not oppose these dispositions on the part of France, as she was not only the prime mover, but the chief supporter of their hostile confederacy. The court of Sweden, in particular, was given to understand that the diminished resources of France put it out of her power to furnish any longer the stipulated subsidies. In consequence of these and other hints on the uncertainty of being, at any future period, in a better condition to treat than at present, the five parties to the war on that side made as many pacific declarations, which were signed at Paris on the 26th of March, and delivered at London on the 31st of the same month. The counter declaration of Great Britain and Prussia, expressing their cheerful acceptance of the offer, appeared on the 3d of April; and Augsburg, an independent city in the circle of Suabia, was fixed upon as the most convenient place for the proposed congress. Lord Egremont, Lord Stormont, at that time ambassador in Poland, and General Yorke, who acted in the same capacity at the Hague, were nominated as the English plenipotentiaries: the Count de Choiseul was appointed on the part of France. Augsburg now became the centre of attention to all Europe; and each court prepared

every thing towards this important meeting which it could furnish of splendour for the display of its dignity, and of ability for the support of its interest. The thoughts and conversation of men were for a while diverted from scenes of horror, bloodshed, and pillage; and every mind was more agreeably employed on the public shows of magnificence, and the private game of policy, in which so many contending powers were brought into the closest and most eager competition.

In order to lessen the intricacy of their future proceedings, it was unanimously agreed, in the first place, that none should be admitted to the congress but the parties principally concerned, and their allies. But although this exclusion of the neutral states tended greatly to disembarrass and simplify the treaty, yet such was the variety of separate and independent matters which still remained to be discussed, that it became advisable to make a further separation, with a view to an easier and more speedy adjustment of their respective concerns. For this purpose, it was necessary to reduce the causes of the different quarrels in so complicated a war to their first principles, and to disengage the several interests which originally, and in their own nature, had no connexion, from that mass, in which mutual injuries, and a common animosity, had blended and confounded them. The court of France therefore proposed to settle the American dispute by a distinct negociation at London and Paris, previously to the discussion of the German affairs at Augsburg. Nothing could afford a stronger proof of the sincerity of her intentions: for it was very certain that, if matters could be satisfactorily accommodated between her and Great Britain, and if they both should carry to the general congress the same candour and good faith, their influence must necessarily tend to inspire sentiments of moderation into the rest, and

must contribute largely to accelerate the great work of pacification.

Things were thus set upon the best footing possible, and the negociation seemed to be in the happiest train that could be wished. Ministers were mutually sent from both courts; Mr. Stanley on the part of England; and Mr. Bussy on that of France. The former embarked for Calais on the 24th of May; and the latter arrived in London on the 31st of the same month. But, unfortunately, the plan and disposition of the treaty were much more easily adjusted than the matter and the substance of it; and it is also very probable that the secret intrigues, or private views of both parties, did not perfectly correspond with their public professions.

Mr. Pitt, one of the British secretaries of state, whose talents and popularity had enabled him, for the last three years, to give the law in the council, notwithstanding the greatness of his mind, and the dignity of his sentiments in many other respects, was too much actuated by an illiberal contempt and a most inveterate hatred of the French. But, as he could not absolutely reject their fair proposal of a treaty, his grand aim was to renew the quarrel on such grounds as might flatter the pride of his countrymen, and reconcile them to the prosecution of expensive measures, against which they now began to revolt. The posture of affairs was singularly favourable to his wishes. England had been every where victorious, except in Germany; and he knew that the people, elated by a series of conquests, would not approve of much condescension to an enemy, whom they considered as lying at their mercy. But it was evident that, without a sacrifice of some of the objects on which they had set their hearts, it would be impossible to procure any satisfactory terms for their allies,

whose affairs were almost ruined in the struggle, and who had, on that account, a stronger claim to the generous attachment of Great Britain. Here, therefore, Mr. Pitt foresaw that he could fix the bar of honour, which was to impede, and finally break off the treaty, if no other pretence occurred in the course of the negociation.

France, on her part, was equally sensible that she could not expect a peace without some mortifying concessions. The moment her particular concerns came to be separated from the general cause, she had every disadvantage in the treaty, because she had suffered almost every disaster in the war. The langraviate of Hesse, the county of Hanau, and the town of Gottingen, were the only acquisitions which she had to balance her immense losses throughout the rest of the globe. A comparative view of these objects, and a just apprehension of the imperious dictates of Great Britain, did not allow her to rest all her hopes so fully on the attainment of peace, as not to look out for some other resource; and this precaution, however prudent and justifiable, made the rest of her proceedings less effective and less sincere. She had reason to suppose that the Spaniards could not behold with indifference the principal branch of the house of Bourbon humbled and stripped of its American possessions; because such an event would, in a manner, leave their own colonies at the mercy of England, when the only power, in that part of the world, which was capable of affording them any immediate protection or assistance, should be annihilated. The late King of Spain, Ferdinand the Sixth, had, indeed, refused to interfere in those disputes; but his successor, Charles the Third, was more likely to take the alarm at the farther progress of the English; and it was also probable that every sacrifice or cession

of American territory, which might be exacted from France in the course of the treaty, would prove a fresh incentive to the suspicions and jealousies of the Spanish monarch. Thus the cabinet of Versailles had a double game to play, in supporting at London the appearance of the most earnest desire of peace, and exerting at Madrid all the secret springs of political intrigue to continue, and spread still wider, the calamities of war.

Such was the odd mixture of hostile and pacific sentiments, of seeming candour and dark design, with which both parties entered upon the negociation. The first proposal of the French minister was, "that the two crowns shall remain in possession of what they have conquered one from the other :" and as France had assuredly been the greatest loser, so unexpected an offer on her part appeared, to every dispassionate and unprejudiced member of the British cabinet, an instance of singular moderation, if not humility: but Mr. Pitt, who directed all things, did not treat it with that attention which its apparent fairness deserved. He barely acquiesced in the general principle, while he took care to render that acquiescence nugatory by his opposition to another article with which it was necessarily connected. As the war still continued, and might therefore make a daily alteration in the fortune of the contracting powers, the French minister had proposed, "that the situation, in which they shall stand at certain periods, shall be the position to serve as a basis for the treaty that is to be concluded between them." He named, for this purpose, the 1st of May in Europe, the 1st of July in Africa and the West Indies, and the 1st of September in the East Indies; observing, at the same time, that as those periods might seem too near or too distant for the interests of Great Britain, the court of Versailles

was extremely willing to enter into an explanation on that subject.

Mr. Pitt's answer was, *that his Britannic Majesty would admit of no other epoch, but that of signing of the peace.* To this blunt declaration the court of Versailles replied, with a coolness and temper which indicated a pacific disposition, "That if not *those,* already named, at least *some fixed periods,* during the war, ought to be agreed upon; as the *uti possidetis,* or mutual retaining of possessions, could not reasonably have reference *only* to the signing of the treaty of peace." The validity of this assertion was almost indisputable: for, if the contrary principle should be admitted, it would become difficult to know, or even to guess at, the value of the possessions that might be lost or gained in the interval, and which, of course, must be mutually given away by such an article. It was farther observed in the French memorial, that if these difficulties occurred in the simplicity of a possessory article, they must be increased tenfold upon every other, and would come to such a height, as to preclude all possibility of negociation on things of so intricate a nature as exchanges and equivalents. This dispute occasioned some delay, and afforded the French ministry, if they had been so disposed, a specious pretext for breaking off the negociation.

In the mean time hostilities were every where carried on, as if no such negociation subsisted. In the East Indies very little remained to be achieved, after the reduction of Pondicherry, and some other advantages which were gained about the same time. The day before Colonel Coote took possession of that fortress, the Mogul army was defeated by Major Carnac in the neighbourhood of Guya. This contest was chiefly brought about by the intrigues of some French officers, and

particularly of one Mr. Law, a nephew to the famous projector. He had made himself useful to Sha Zaddah, a son of the late Mogul, in supporting the young prince's hereditary claims, and in reducing to his obedience several provinces of the empire. Law then persuaded him to turn his arms against Bengal, the possession of which would undoubtedly contribute more than all the rest to establish him on his father's throne. He accordingly entered that province at the head of 80,000 Indians, and somewhat more than 200 Frenchmen, whom Law had collected in his train. The support of the latter was more prejudicial to his title in the eyes of the English than any other objection; and as they were become the arbiters of crowns in the east, they joined the subah of Bengal to oppose Sha Zaddah's progress. About 20,000 blacks, 2,500 seapoys, and 500 English soldiers marched against him; and, notwithstanding the great inferiority of their numbers, they obtained a decisive victory. All the artillery of the enemy was taken, with part of their baggage and several French officers, amongst whom was Mr. Law, their principal commander. The Mogul prince surrendered at discretion to the subah, who treated him with extraordinary respect. But the hopes of the French in Bengal were completely blasted; nor was fortune more favourable to them on the coast of Malabar. They still had a garrison at Mihie, which, though of little consequence as a trading port, they had fortified at a vast expense, and mounted the works with above 200 pieces of cannon. But it did not long hold out against the well-directed efforts of a body of forces from Bombay under Hector Munro, to whom Mr. Louet, the commander of the fort, surrendered it, with all its dependencies, in the beginning of February. Count d'Estaigne was the only French adventurer in the east,

who had effected any thing which might be placed in the opposite scale to those successes of the English. The count, however, did not gain so much reputation by these exploits, as he incurred disgrace from having engaged in them, contrary to the most sacred laws of arms; for he was at the very time a prisoner upon parole. On the coast of Africa there were still fewer objects to excite any particular vigilance, or exertion. England had become mistress of all the French forts and factories on the river Senegal, and had also taken the island of Goree, valuable on account of its harbour, and in a convenient situation, being within cannon shot of Cape Verd. She, therefore, had nothing more to do in that quarter than to preserve her former acquisitions. The town of Goree was consumed by fire; but an attempt made by two French snows on James Fort, in the mouth of the river Gambia, was defeated: one of the snows ran on shore; and the other, after sustaining some damage, was forced to sheer off.

Ever since the taking of Guadaloupe, and the reduction of Canada, the spirit of enterprise had been suffered to languish there, for want of reinforcements from home. Nothing was attempted by land, except the quelling of the Cherokees, a very numerous and powerful Indian nation, who, alike regardless of past treaties and of past chastisement, had begun to renew their barbarous ravages on the frontiers of South Carolina. Lieutenant-colonel Grant was sent against them at the head of 2,600 men, with orders to desolate their country by fire and sword, as no other method than that of the most terrible retaliation was likely to prove effectual. He set off from Fort Prince George in the beginning of July, and was attacked on his march, a few days after, by a body of Indians, who fired for some time with great vivacity, but without

making any impression, and then disappeared. This was the only effort they made to oppose his progress, though the country was deemed almost impenetrable, had it been well defended. He reduced to ashes fifteen of their towns, besides little villages and separate huts; destroyed all their plantations, their corn, beans, peas, &c. to the extent of 1,400 acres; and drove about 5,000 of the inhabitants into the woods and mountains, where they had no alternative but to starve, or sue for peace. A deputation of their chiefs waited upon the colonel, to implore his mercy, and to propose terms. These he forwarded to the lieutenant-governor at Charlestown, who gave his assent to a new treaty, though with less confidence in the good faith of the savages, than in the impressions of the vengeance inflicted on them for their former perfidy.

The Jamaica and Leeward island squadrons did not remain idle; but they were inadequate to any grand expedition. Rear-admiral Holmes, who had the command on the former station, planned some cruises with judgment and success. The squadron off the Leeward islands, under the direction of Commodore Sir James Douglas, was not less alert in scouring those seas of the Martinico privateers; and had also the merit of assisting in the conquest of Dominica, one of the islands called *neutral*, but which the French had fortified and settled. A small body of troops, commanded by Lord Rollo, sailed from the road of Basseterre, on his Majesty's birth-day, under the escort of the commodore, with four ships of the line and some frigates. The second day, about noon, they arrived within a league of Roseau; and two officers were sent on shore, with a manifesto directed to the inhabitants. An assault was resolved upon, and conducted with surprising skill and intrepidity. The French commandant, and some other officers, were taken at

their head-quarters ; and next day the inhabitants crowded from all parts of the island to surrender their arms, and to take the oaths of allegiance to his Britannic Majesty.

It will now be proper to describe the events of the campaign in Europe, to which quarter the minister certainly confined his views at that time, as well as the employment of the chief strength and resources of his country.

Although the great purpose of the early and strenuous efforts made by Prince Ferdinand was not fully answered, it nevertheless produced a very considerable and useful effect. The destruction of the French magazines retarded their operations in such a manner, that the greatest part of June was spent, before their armies found themselves in a condition to act.

The first blow was struck by Marshal Broglio, who obtained some advantages over the allies on the first onset ; but the latter, soon recovering their spirit, attacked, and greatly annoyed the enemy, which made them resolve on a general action. Prince Ferdinand made the necessary dispositions, and the Marquis of Granby was appointed to an important command. The French were under the command of Marshal Broglio, aided by the Prince of Soubise. A severe fire was continued for upwards of five hours, before the least effect could be perceived on either side ; but the allies, at length, obtained the victory, and Marshal Broglio was obliged to relinquish his designs upon Hanover. The season being now far advanced, the respective armies marched into winter quarters.

The issue of the campaign in Westphalia proved very disastrous to the King of Prussia, who was under the necessity of acting upon the defensive, by the alarming progress of the Russians and Austrians on several parts of his dominions. The

Russians spread themselves over all the open country of Silesia, exacted heavy contributions, and a party of them began to cannonade Breslaw, while the Austrian General Laudohn made some manœuvres which indicated a design on Schweidnitz; but his attempts were baffled by the sagacious Frederick, who remained immoveable in his post, which protected Schweidnitz; and, with regard to the lower parts of Silesia, he had already filled the fortresses there with such garrisons as put them out of the reach of any sudden insult.

The King of Prussia was not equally free from alarm at the danger of Colberg, the key of his northern possessions; and though he had full employment for all his forces nearer home, he resolved to send a large detachment, under General Platen, to the relief of that valuable city. The fertility of his genius proposed two ends from this single expedient. He ordered Platen to direct his march through Poland, and to destroy the Russian magazines, which had been amassed on the frontiers of that kingdom, and from which their army in Silesia drew their whole subsistence. This service might, he hoped, be performed without any considerable interruption to the progress of the detachment towards Colberg. The event was so far answerable to his wishes. General Platen ruined three principal magazines of the enemy, attacked a great convoy of their waggons, 500 of which he destroyed, and having killed or made prisoners the greater part of 4000 men, who defended them, he pursued his march with the utmost diligence into Pomerania. The news of this blow struck the Russians in Silesia with consternation: they immediately relinquished all the objects of their junction with the Austrians; their main body repassed the Oder, and hurried back into Poland, lest some more of their magazines should share the same fate, and

their future subsistence be rendered wholly precarious.

Notwithstanding this gleam of good fortune, the King of Prussia's difficulties were so multiplied, that his wisest schemes and happiest successes could hardly answer any other end than to vary the scene of his distress. The storm which had been diverted from Silesia by General Platen's expedition, was only removed thence to be discharged with irresistible fury on Colberg; and, while his attention was wholly taken up in studying new methods for the relief of that place, an event happened which was the more distressing as it was entirely unsuspected. Laudohn, the Austrian general, who watched the king with a steady and penetrating eye, formed a plan of sudden attack on the uncovered fortress of Schweidnitz, and accomplished his purpose with a facility that far exceeded his most sanguine hopes. Lieutenant-general Zastrow, the governor, and his whole garrison, amounting to 3000 men, were made prisoners; besides a quantity of artillery and a large magazine of meal. The King of Prussia felt the blow to the quick. In the first agitations of his mind, he was disposed to attribute the misfortune to treachery; but, recovering his temper, he sent the following lines to the unfortunate governor: "We may now say, what Francis the First of France said to his mother, after the battle of Pavia, *We have lost all except our honour*. As I cannot comprehend what hath happened to you, I shall suspend my judgment: the affair is very extraordinary." Schweidnitz was lost suddenly; but Colberg made a long and noble defence, till the garrison, exhausted by fatigue, their provision low, and the fortifications in many places battered to pieces, surrendered to the Russians on the 16th of December, after a peculiarly

distressing siege of near six months. The loss of two such places as Schweidnitz and Colberg, at the two extremities of his dominions, were decisive against the King of Prussia. He had no prospect before him but to perish in a flame of his own kindling; and all that he could reasonably expect was, to give it brilliancy by some act of heroism, as his salvation seemed beyond the reach of any human endeavours.

Many instances might be adduced of the skill, bravery, and success of the English cruisers, in the course of the year: but the expedition against Belleisle eclipsed them all in splendour and magnitude. The armament fitted out for this enterprise consisted of ten ships of the line under Commodore Keppel, and near 10,000 land forces commanded by Major-general Hodgson. They sailed from Spithead on the 29th of March, and came to anchor in the great road of Belleisle, on the 7th of April. A descent was immediately attempted at three different places. The troops were rowed to various parts of the island, and the landing was made good in a short time after. The siege of Palais was commenced with vigour; and the garrison, commanded by the Chevalier de St. Croix, a brave and experienced officer, threatened, on their side, a long and obstinate defence. The enemy made some sallies, one of them with considerable effect. A great number of the besiegers were killed, and Major-general Crawford, who commanded in the trenches, was made prisoner. By the end of the month a breach was made in the citadel; and, notwithstanding the indefatigable industry of the garrison in repairing the damage, the fire of the besiegers increased to such a degree, that a great part of the defences was ruined, and the breach rendered practicable on the 7th of June. Then

St. Croix, having no prospect of relief, and being apprehensive of a general assault, thought it prudent to capitulate.

The taking of Belleisle, which was celebrated with bonfires, illuminations, and every expression of tumultuous joy, contributed greatly to elate the spirit of the English populace, and was no small mortification to France. But the expedition having failed in its ultimate aim, which was to oblige the French to weaken their army in Westphalia, in order to defend their own coasts, and by that means to enable Prince Ferdinand to strike some decisive blow, and the island itself, which is, literally speaking, a barren rock, being found to have no harbours for ships of force, the chief circumstance that could make it valuable to Great Britain, the possession of it was thought, by many, dearly purchased with the lives of 2,000 brave men, besides an immense expenditure of naval and military stores. Mr. Pitt's friends represented Belleisle as a place of great importance, from its position, while they highly and justly extolled the valour of the troops they employed in reducing it. Yet, as this exploit had not produced the smallest diversion in favour of the allied army on the continent, and as no other enterprise was planned from which any material advantage could be expected during the summer, Mr. Pitt was disposed to name certain periods to which the reciprocal holding of possessions should refer, and the negociation with France was resumed.

The epochs named by the British minister were the 1st of August for Europe, the 1st of September for Africa and America, and the 1st of November for the East Indies. To these epochs France agreed, though reluctantly, on account of their nearness, as at this juncture she wished and hoped to make some acquisitions in Westphalia before

the close of the campaign, which might at least counterbalance the loss of Belleisle. She also agreed that every thing settled between the two crowns, relative to their particular disputes, should be finally conclusive and obligatory, independent of the proceedings of the congress to be held at Augsburg; and she farther agreed, that the definitive treaty of peace between the two kingdoms, or preliminary articles to that purpose, should be signed and ratified before the 1st of August. France even gave up the point of honour, and frankly made an offer of what places she was willing to cede and exchange. Her first proposals came through the medium of Mr. Stanley; and after some difficulties had been removed, and a few claims relinquished, Mr. Bussy delivered, on the 23d of July, a memorial in form, containing a regular digest of the sacrifices acquiesced in, and the compensations required by the French ministry. They proposed to cede and guaranty all Canada to England, and to ascertain the boundaries of that province and Louisiana in such a manner as to preclude all possibility of any future dispute on the subject. They only stipulated that the free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion should be permitted there, and that such of the old French colonists as chose to retire, might have leave to take away, or dispose of their effects, and might be supplied by the English government with the means of conveyance on the most reasonable terms. In return for this, they required a confirmation of their former privilege of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, with the restitution of Cape Breton, as some harbour was necessary for carrying on that fishery to advantage; but excluding themselves from erecting any kind of fortification. They offered to exchange Minorca for Guadaloupe and Marigalante; and that, with respect to the neutral islands in the

West Indies, two of them, namely, Dominica and St. Vincent, were to be held by the native inhabitants, the Caribbees, while France occupied St. Lucia, and England took possession of Tobago. In the East Indies they had no equivalent to offer for the recovery of the English acquisitions there; but they expatiated much on the disadvantages which must arise, to the companies of the two nations, from their entertaining views of conquest, so contrary to the true spirit and real interests of these trading establishments; and they concluded their remarks on this head, by proposing the treaty of 1755, between the Sieur Godeheu and Governor Saunders, as a basis for the re-establishment of the peace in Asia. On the side of Africa, they required the settlement at Senegal, or the Isle of Goree, to be given up by England; for which, together with the restoration of Belleisle, they consented to evacuate Gottingen, Hesse, and Hanau; but these evacuations were to be preceded by a cessation of hostilities between the two crowns, and a positive engagement that their armies in Germany should observe an exact neutrality, not affording the least assistance, nor giving the least offence, to the allies of either party.

So far the advances of the French ministry had a very plausible appearance: but they strictly adhered, in their memorial, to two points, which had been already the cause of much dispute with the negociators at both courts. The one was an absolute refusal on the part of France to give up Wesel and Gueldres, which she had conquered from the King of Prussia, in the name of the Empress-queen, whose consent to a separate peace between France and England had been only obtained under two conditions, first, that the Empress should keep possession of the countries belonging to the King

of Prussia, and, secondly, that England should not afford him any succour. The other article was a demand, very strongly urged, for having all the captures restored which had been made by England previous to the declaration of war. The arguments for and against this claim may be summed up in a few words. It was said, on the one hand, that the practice of declaring war had been established by the law of nations, to make subjects acquainted with the quarrels of their sovereigns, and to give them a fair warning to take care of their persons and effects; that without such notice, all trade and intercourse between different states would become extremely hazardous, and every individual must be in fear and danger the moment he passed the confines of his country; that, in the late instance, the merchants of France, reposing themselves on the faith of treaties, and ignorant of the facts or circumstances which led to a rupture between the two kingdoms, had been plundered, without the least regard to equity or honour; and that even supposing any improper encroachments to have been made on the back of the English colonies in America, the aggression ought first to be complained of, and a reparation of the injury peremptorily insisted upon, as nothing but an absolute denial of redress, and a public appeal to the sword, could justify the commencement of hostilities. To this it was replied, that when a nation is insidiously robbed of her right, she has a natural claim to instant retaliation; that a faithless assassin is not entitled by any law to the formalities of a challenge; and that the alarming steps taken by the French in America to gain ground on the English colonies, and the preparations making at home to send out vast bodies of troops to support and extend such encroachments, amidst the most

solemn assurances of amicable intention, neither deserved a return of candour, nor allowed time for a scrupulous regard to the usual punctilios.

On whatever side the scale of reason and justice may be thought to incline in this controversy, the British minister seemed inflexible in his refusal to restore the disputed captures, while he was no less absolute in demanding the evacuation of Wesel and Gueldres. He was also averse to the proposed ground of pacification in the East Indies, as well as to the giving up of the island of Cape Breton in America, and of Senegal or Goree on the coast of Africa; nor would he agree to a neutrality in regard to Germany. He treated such an intimation with disdain, as an insult to the honour of his country. But, besides these contentious points, a new circumstance occurred, against which Mr. Pitt's opposition was directed with still more inflexible resolution.

At the time of presenting the above memorial to the court of London, Mr. Bussy delivered a private paper, signifying the desire of his most Christian Majesty, that, in order to establish the peace upon solid foundations, not to be shaken by the contested interests of a third power, the King of Spain might be invited to guaranty the treaty between the two crowns; and farther proposing, with the consent and communication of his Catholic Majesty, that three subjects of dispute which subsisted between England and Spain, and which might produce a new war in Europe and America, should be finally settled in this negociation; namely, the restoration of some ships taken in the course of the present war under Spanish colours; the liberty claimed by the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and the demolition of certain settlements made, contrary to treaty, by the English logwood-cutters in the bay of Honduras. Mr. Pitt

expressed his surprise and indignation at an humbled enemy's undertaking to settle differences between declared friends; he called upon the Spanish ambassador to disavow the step which had been said to be taken with the knowledge of his court; he returned, as wholly inadmissible, the offensive paper, declaring that it would be looked upon as an affront to the dignity of his master, and incompatible with the sincerity of the negociation on the part of France, to make any farther mention of such a circumstance; and he prepared, without delay, a very animated reply to the other proposals of the French ministry. In this answer, bearing date the 29th of July, all the before-recited objections were urged with great warmth.

The views of the different parties began now gradually to unfold themselves; but the impetuosity of Mr. Pitt's character gave the French ministry a considerable advantage over him. They seemed totally unaffected by his imperious tone; they digested every mortification in silence; they made an apology for having proposed a discussion of the points in dispute with Spain; and, in reply to the English secretary's last dictates, as well as in the private instructions sent with it to Mr. Bussy, in the beginning of August, they appeared willing to make farther sacrifices for the re-establishment of peace. Whether they really hoped to accomplish that object, or not, by these new concessions, their conduct was politic. At least, it ensured the success of their intrigues at the court of Madrid, where the haughty language of the British minister could not fail to give disgust, while the increasing humiliations of the French monarchy excited alarm. The famous FAMILY COMPACT was the consequence. By this treaty, which was signed on the 15th of August, the several branches of the house of Bourbon were intwined in the closest union; and France derived,

from her misfortunes and disgrace, an advantage which she could not have expected from the most successful issue of the war. Spain now engaged to assist her with as much zeal and vigour as if the two kingdoms had been incorporated, and to admit her subjects to all the privileges of natives. The two Sicilies and the duchy of Parma were united in the same bonds of mutual guarantee of dominions and community of interests. It was stipulated, that a war declared against either power shall be regarded as personal by the other; and when they happen to be both engaged in war against the same enemy, they will wage it jointly with their whole forces, and concert together all their political as well as military plans of operation: they will not listen to, nor make any proposals of peace, to their common enemies, but by mutual consent; being resolved, in peace and war, each mutually to consider the interests of the allied crown as its own, to compensate their respective losses and advantages, and to act as if the two monarchies formed only one and the same power.

Strong motives of policy, chiefly arising from the danger to which Spain would have been at that moment exposed by an immediate rupture with England, made the contracting parties use every endeavour, for some time, to keep their late alliance a profound secret. The negociation between the courts of London and Versailles was therefore still carried on with seeming sincerity; but the eagerness of the latter to terminate the war must have been greatly abated by an assurance of support from a power untouched in its resources of men, money, and stores. It may also be fairly presumed, that Mr. Pitt's aversion to a peace was not lessened, but greatly increased, by his well-founded suspicions of the private correspondence between France and Spain. He did not wish, however, to

put an end to the treaty, till he could furnish himself with sufficient proofs of the engagements which the two branches of the house of Bourbon had entered into against Great Britain, as he thought such proofs would be the best justification of his own conduct.

The final resolutions of the British cabinet were transmitted to Versailles in the latter end of August, and the reply of the French ministry was delivered to Mr. Pitt on the 13th of September. From these papers it appears, that the most interesting objects of concern were settled, or in a fair way of adjustment, and that mere points of honour were made the pretext for keeping Europe involved in the calamities of war. The cession of Canada was agreed to in the most extensive form; and though some difficulty remained concerning the bounds of Louisiana, it was too trifling to obstruct the progress or conclusion of the treaty. The African contest seemed to have been attended with still less difficulty. The French consented to give up both Senegal and Goree, provided Anamaboo and Acra were guarantied to them; and they very plausibly urged their compliance in this respect as a demonstration of their readiness to embrace every temperament tending to reconcile the two nations. The momentous question of the fishery was likewise determined. The French relinquished their claim to Cape Breton and St. John's, and were satisfied to receive the little islands of St. Peter and Miquelon, even under the restriction of not keeping any military establishment there. The privileges of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, as enjoyed by the French before the war, under the thirteenth article of the treaty of Utrecht, were continued to them; but, in return for such privileges, and in conformity to another article of that treaty, the King of France consented to demolish the fortifica-

tions of Dunkirk. As to the islands of Guadaloupe, Marigalante, Minorca, and Belleisle, no great controversy had subsisted on their account from the beginning; it had all along been agreed that these conquests should be reciprocally restored. Nor did the French any longer press the consideration of the old treaty been Godeheu and Saunders in the East Indies; but agreed to refer the settlement of all disputes there to commissioners appointed by the companies of the two nations. The only points of difference were, the conduct to be observed with respect to their allies, the evacuation of one or two places in Germany, and the restitution of the merchant-men taken previous to the declaration of war. On the first head the French had made repeated proposals of neutrality, which were uniformly rejected by the English minister, as derogating from the good faith of the nation. He insisted on the surrender of all the conquests made by France upon any of the allies in Germany, particularly Wesel, and the territories of the King of Prussia, though the French ministry had declared, that they could neither evacuate that town nor Gueldres, as such a cession would be a breach of the engagements they were under to the Empress-queen of Hungary, for whom those places had been taken, and in whose name alone they were governed. This matter, they said, ought to be referred to the congress at Augsburg. Their other acquisitions on the continent, Hesse, Hanau, and Gottingen, which were of greater importance, they did not hesitate to give up, as part of the equivalent for the islands ceded by Great Britain. To the French demand of compensation for the captures before war was formally declared, Mr. Pitt had given an irrevocable negative. His opponents remarked, that, rather than make restitution of a few hundred thousand pounds, plunder-

ed from the subjects of France, while trading under the security of peace, false pride induced government to prosecute the war, at the annual expense of 12,000,000*l.*; or, that this enormous charge, together with a farther waste of British blood, and the risk of fortune's inconstancy, was a sacrifice made to the interest of a German ally, who had already drained so much from the nation.

The secretary did not deign to answer the last memorial of the French ministry; but in a few days after the receipt of it, he sent directions to Mr. Stanley to return to England, and to desire that Mr. Bussy might have the like orders of recal from his court. The leading negociation in London and Paris being now broken off, that which was proposed at Augsburg never took place; and the fond hopes of the public, which had been kept alive for almost six months, expired in the most painful disappointment. So far was the treaty from producing any of the happy effects that were expected from it—so far was it from appeasing the animosities of the contending powers, that they parted with intentions more hostile, and opinions more adverse, than ever. New subjects of jealousy and debate had also arisen; and there was no reason to apprehend that other powers would be tempted to engage in the quarrel, and to throw off the veil of neutrality, under which they had hitherto concealed their secret attachments. Thus all the seeming advances towards peace operated like oil poured upon the fire of contention, which, instead extinguishing it, served to spread the flame wider, and to make it burn with greater rapidity

## CHAPTER II.

*The young King exempt from personal or political prejudices—His choice of a consort—Declaration in council—Embassy sent to demand the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg—Her arrival in London, and nuptials—Coronation—Clouds in the political hemisphere—Spanish affairs—Mr. Pitt's proposal to attack Spain—Resignation of Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple—Measures of the ministry—Meeting of the new Parliament—Addresses of both Houses to their Majesties—Repeal of the compelling clause in the Insolvent Act—Ways and Means—Debate on the German war—Parliament adjourned—Proceedings of the English ambassador at Madrid—War declared against Spain—King's speech on the subject—Debate on the speech—Protest occasioned by a motion for withdrawing the troops from Germany—Interposition of the legislature in favour of brewers and publicans—Amendments of the militia laws—Law respecting parish children—Bill for the extension of the Duke of Bridgewater's Canals—Scheme for supplying the metropolis with fish by land carriage—Act to encourage the discovery of the longitude, with account of a new time piece and marine chair—Addition to the former grants of the Commons—Close of the session.*

AFTER so long continued a view of operations in the field, and of intrigues in the cabinet, it will be some relief to the mind to contemplate a few events of a more tranquil and domestic nature, which happened during the same period. For almost twelve months few changes were made in any of the great offices of state. Lord Henley, afterwards created Earl of Northington, who had distinguished himself

at the bar by his talents and integrity, and had for some time acted as keeper of the great seal, was continued in the same important trust, but with the higher title of lord chancellor. The Earl of Holdernesse, secretary of state for the northern department, having retired from public business, was succeeded by the Earl of Bute. The Earl of Halifax was removed from the board of trade to be lord lieutenant of Ireland; and some other removals or promotions from one department of administration to another took place, but not a single dismission, except that of Mr. Legge, in whose room Lord Barrington was appointed chancellor of the exchequer.

But his Majesty's conduct in another affair of very great moment afforded still juster cause of general satisfaction. This was his choice of a consort, whose endearments might sweeten the cares of royalty, and whose virtues should make his private happiness coincide with the happiness of his people. The first circumstance that directed his attention to the Princess Charlotte, of Mecklenburg Strelitz, was a letter, forcibly depicting the horrors of war, which her Serene Highness had written to the King of Prussia, on his entering her cousin's territories, and which that monarch had sent over to George the Second, as a miracle of good sense and patriotism in so young a princess. The King privately employed some persons, in whom he could confide, to ascertain the report of her amiable qualifications; and having received the fullest satisfaction on that head, he resolved to make a formal demand of her in marriage. On the 8th of July, he made the following declaration of his sentiments at a very full meeting of the members of the privy council:

"Having nothing so much at heart as to procure the welfare and happiness of my people, and to render the same stable and permanent to posterity, I

have, ever since my accession to the throne, turned my thoughts towards the choice of a princess for my consort; and I now, with great satisfaction, acquaint you, that after the fullest information, and mature deliberation, I am come to a resolution to demand in marriage the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz,—a princess distinguished by every eminent virtue and amiable endowment, whose illustrious line has constantly shown the firmest zeal for the Protestant religion, and a particular attachment to my family.

"I have judged proper to communicate to you these my intentions, in order that you may be fully apprised of a matter so highly important to me, and to my kingdoms, and which, I persuade myself, will be most acceptable to all my loving subjects."

This declaration was so agreeable to the council, that they unanimously requested it might be made public. Proper steps were then taken for the accomplishment of his Majesty's wishes. The Earl of Harcourt was fixed upon to go out as ambassador plenipotentiary, to make the demand of her Serene Highness; the Duchesses of Ancaster and Hamilton, and the Countess of Effingham, were appointed ladies of the bed-chamber, to take care of her person; and the Carolina yacht, being now named the Charlotte, was got in readiness to convey her to England, under convoy of a squadron commanded by Lord Anson. The fleet put to sea on the 8th of August; and on the 14th, Lord Harcourt, and the other lords and ladies sent on this embassy, arrived at Strelitz. When the ceremony of demanding her Highness in marriage to the King of Great Britain, and also of signing the contract was performed, the Princess set out with her suite on the 17th of August, and arrived at Stade on the 22d. The following day she embarked at Cuxhaven, on board the yacht, and, after a tedious voyage of ten days, landed at Har-

wich, from whence she was conducted by an escort of cavalry to London, and at St. James's was received by the Duke of York, who conducted her into the palace, where she dined with his Majesty, the Princess-dowager, and the rest of the royal family. At nine o'clock in the evening the nuptial ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the royal chapel, which had been magnificently decorated for the purpose. Besides the royal family, all the great officers of state, the foreign ministers, and a considerable number of the nobility, were present at the service, the conclusion of which was announced to the people by the discharge of the artillery in the Park, and at the Tower. The cities of London and Westminster were illuminated in honour of the auspicious event. The levee next day, to compliment their Majesties, was the most numerous and brilliant that had ever been seen in this country; addresses of felicitation poured in from all parts of the British dominions; and the whole kingdom, as well as the court, exhibited, for some time, nothing but scenes of splendour and festivity.

Soon after the royal wedding, another ceremony took place, which afforded yet greater room for the display of loyalty and magnificence. A proclamation had been issued in July, appointing the 22d of September for the King's coronation; and a similar notice was now published in the Gazette, declaring it to be his Majesty's intention that the Queen should be crowned at the same time. A commission had also passed the great seal, constituting a court to decide the pretensions of such people as laid claim to different offices and privileges upon that occasion. These were not mere matters of ceremony, as the tenures of sundry manors, and the enjoyment of certain rights and inheritances, depended on the performance of particular services

at the coronation. Westminster-hall was prepared for the banquet, by removing the courts of judicature, and erecting galleries for the accommodation of spectators. On the appointed day, their Majesties took their seats at the upper end of the hall, when the four swords and spears were presented according to form, and laid upon the table before the King. The bible and the regalia were next brought from the Abbey by the dean and prebendaries; and, after being laid before their Majesties, were delivered, by the King's command, to the lords entitled to be the bearers of them. The procession was a most grand and diversified spectacle, and such a concourse of spectators had never before been assembled on any similar occasion.

The Kings and Queens of Great Britain being always entertained at Guildhall in the year of the coronation, extraordinary preparations were made for the reception of their Majesties, who, with a great number of the nobility, honoured the banquet in the midst of the warmest expressions of loyalty and attachment.

The bright effusions of national joy, to which the King's marriage and coronation had given such a scope, were now, for a little time, checked and obscured by some rising clouds in the political hemisphere, of the progress and effects of which it will be necessary to give a particular account. Mr. Pitt's views in the course of the treaty with France, and his indignant rejection of the memorial concerning Spain, have been already noticed. It was farther observed, that he then called upon the Spanish ambassador to disavow that irregular procedure. His excellency at first explained himself verbally on the subject, and was soon after authorized by his court to deliver to the English secretary a written answer, stating, that the King of France, after acknowledging his sense of the reiterated offers

which his Catholic Majesty had made both to him and England, in order to facilitate a reconciliation, proposed to the King of Spain the guarantee of the treaty of peace, as a measure which might be equally convenient to France and England; and at the same time assured him of his sincere intentions with respect to the sacrifice he proposed to make, in order to restore tranquillity to Europe, by a solid and honourable peace. That the King of Spain, perceiving in the disposition of the King of France, a desire for a permanent peace, acquainted his most Christian Majesty, that he wished the King of Great Britain had not made a difficulty of settling the guarantee connected with the consideration of the grievances between Spain and England, as he had all the reason in the world to believe that his Britannic Majesty had the same good intentions to terminate them amicably, according to reason and justice. That by proposing the guarantee of Spain, they expressed their sincere desire of seeing the interests of Spain settled at the same time, which might one day rekindle the flames of a new war, which at present they wished to extinguish, and that the King of Spain flattered himself, that his Britannic Majesty, animated by the same sentiments of humanity for the public tranquillity, would continue in the same intentions to terminate the disputes subsisting between England and a power which had given such repeated proofs of friendship, at the same time that it was proposed to restore peace to all Europe.

This explanation did not produce the desired effect: it appeared to Mr. Pitt, that Spain, as a kind of party, had been made acquainted with every step taken in the negociation between France and England; that her judgment was appealed to on every point, and her authority called in aid to force the acceptance of the terms offered by the former;

in a word, that there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and councils between the courts of Versailles and Madrid. His firm conviction of this has been urged as an apology for the indifference with which he afterwards treated all the seeming condescension of the French ministry. In the mean time, orders had been sent to the Earl of Bristol, the British ambassador at Madrid, to demonstrate with energy and firmness on the unexampled and offensive irregularity of the late proceedings, and to demand an eclaircissement of the actual measures and designs of that court; to adhere to the negative put upon the Spanish pretensions to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland; to rest on the justice of the English tribunals the claim concerning the restitution of prizes made against the flag of Spain, or supposed to have been taken in violation of the territory of that kingdom; to continue the former professions of the court of London, indicating a desire of an amicable adjustment of the logwood dispute, and the willingness of his Britannic Majesty to cause the settlements on the coast of Honduras to be evacuated, as soon as his Catholic Majesty should suggest another method by which British subjects could enjoy that traffic, to which they had a right by treaty, and which the court of Madrid had farther confirmed to them by repeated promises. Mr. Pitt's letter, which conveyed these orders to the Earl of Bristol, concluded thus:—

"Although in the course of this instruction to your excellency, I could not, with such an insolent memorial before me, but proceed on the supposition, that, insidious as that court is, she could not dare to commit in such a manner the name of his Catholic Majesty, without being authorized thereto; I must not, however, conceal from your excellency, that it is thought possible here, that the court of France, though not wholly unauthorized, may, with her usual

artifice in negociation, have put much exaggeration into this matter; and in case, upon entering into remonstrances on this affair, you shall perceive a disposition in Mr. Wall, (the Spanish secretary of state) to explain away and disavow the authorization of Spain to this offensive transaction of France, and to come to categorical and satisfactory declarations relatively to the final intentions of Spain, your excellency will, with readiness and your usual address, adapt yourself to so desirable a circumstance, and will open to the court of Madrid as handsome a retreat as may be, in case you perceive, from the Spanish minister, that they sincerely wish to find one, and to remove, by an effectual satisfaction, the unfavourable impressions which this memorial of the court of France has justly and unavoidably made on the mind of his Majesty."

By the Earl of Bristol's reply to Mr. Pitt, it appears that the Spanish minister applauded the magnanimity of the King of Great Britain in declaring, that he would never add facilities towards accommodating differences with another sovereign, in consideration of any intimation from a power at war, or the threatenings of an enemy. Mr. Wall farther affirmed, that the assent given by his court to the King of France's offer of endeavouring to adjust the disputes between England and Spain was totally void of any design to retard the peace, and absolutely free from the least intention of giving offence to his Britannic Majesty. The Catholic king, he said, did not think England would look upon the French ministers as a tribunal to which the court of London would make an appeal, nor did he mean it as such, when the statement of grievances was conveyed through that channel. His excellency assured the Earl of Bristol, that the Catholic king, both before and then, esteemed as well as valued the frequent professions of friendship made by the British court,

and of its desire to settle all differences amicably; and asked, whether it was possible to be imagined in England, that the Catholic king was seeking to provoke Great Britain in her most flourishing and exalted condition, occasioned by the greatest series of prosperities that any single nation had ever met with? But he refused to give up any of the three points in dispute, and owned that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the courts of France and Spain; that, in consequence of that harmony, the most Christain king had offered to assist his Catholic Majesty, in case the discussions between Great Britain and Spain should terminate in a rupture, and that this offer was considered in a friendly light.

On receiving these dispatches, Mr. Pitt was of opinion, that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal, and that her only motive for delaying a more open avowal of her hostile designs was in order to strike the blow at her own time, and with the greater effect. He accordingly declared in council, that we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war; that we ought, from prudence as well as spirit, to secure to ourselves the first blow; that no new armament would be necessary; that, if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain; that her flota, or American plate-fleet, on which she had great dependance, was not yet arrived; and that the taking of it would at once strengthen our hands, and disable her's. Such a spirited measure, he added, would be a lesson to his Catholic Majesty, and to all Europe, how dangerous it was to presume to dictate in the affairs of Great Britain. After the fullest discussion of the subject at three different meetings of the cabinet ministers, Mr. Pitt was wholly unable to bring over any of them to his way of thinking,

except Lord Temple, his brother-in-law. The proposal was looked upon by all the other members as precipitate—as equally repugnant to the dictates of sound policy, and to the laws of honour and justice. They owned that Spain had concurred in a very extraordinary step; yet it was not impossible but some farther remonstrances might persuade that court to recal a proposition, into which it had been, perhaps, unwarily seduced by the artifices of France. They also admitted, that we ought not to be frightened from asserting our reasonable demands by the menaces of any power: that to shun war upon a just occasion was cowardice, but to provoke or court it madness; and that to hasten a rupture with Spain, in particular, if it could be by any means avoided, was giving a wanton blow to the commercial interest of both countries. Before we draw the sword, they said, let the world be convinced of the perfidious designs of those whom we attack; let us not endeavour to surpass them in treachery; and let not the lion debase himself to act the part of a fox. As to the seizure of the flota, they added, the thing itself may be impracticable; perhaps that fleet is now safe in harbour. They concluded with observing, that if Spain, blind to her true interests, and misled by French counsels, should enter more decisively into the views of that hostile court, it will then be the true time to declare war, when all the neighbouring and impartial powers are convinced that we act with as much temper as resolution. Mr. Pitt declared, that this was the moment for humbling the whole house of Bourbon; that if so glorious an opportunity were let slip, it might never be recovered; and, if he could not prevail in the present instance, he was resolved this should be the last time of his sitting in that council. "I was called to the administration of public affairs," said he, "by the voice of the people: to them I have always con-

sidered myself as accountable for my conduct; and therefore cannot remain in a situation which makes me responsible for measures I am no longer allowed to guide." To this declaration Lord Granville, the president of the council, very coolly replied:—"The gentleman, I find, is determined to leave us, and I cannot say I am sorry for it, as he would otherwise certainly have compelled us to leave him; for, if he is determined to assume solely the right of advising his Majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we here assembled? He may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility: still it remains, that we should be equally convinced, before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes."

In conformity to the resolution then taken by Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, they both resigned their employments. When Mr. Pitt carried the seals to the King, his Majesty received them with ease and firmness: he expressed his regret for the loss of so able a servant; but he did not solicit him to resume his office: he candidly declared, that he was not only satisfied with the opinion of the majority of his council, but that he would have found himself under the greatest difficulty how to have acted, had that council concurred as fully in supporting the measure proposed by Mr. Pitt as they had done in rejecting it. In order, at the same time, to show his high opinion of Mr. Pitt's merit, his Majesty made him a most gracious offer of any rewards in the power of the Crown to bestow. Mr. Pitt was sensibly touched with the candour, the dignity, and condescension of this proceeding. "I confess, Sir," said he, "I had but too much reason to expect your Majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, Sir,—it overpowers—it oppresses me." He declined the

distinction of nobility for himself, but accepted of other marks of royal favour, which, with the appointment of his successor, were thus mentioned in the London Gazette.

"St. James's, October 9. The Right Hon. William Pitt having resigned the seals into the King's hands, his Majesty was this day pleased to appoint the Earl of Egremont to be one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state. And, in consideration of the great and important services of the said Mr. Pitt, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct, that a warrant be prepared for granting to the lady Hester Pitt, his wife, a barony of Great Britain, by the name, style, and title of Baroness of Chatham, to herself, and of Baron of Chatham to her heirs male; and also to confer upon William Pitt, Esq. an annuity of 3000*l.* sterling, during his own life, and that of lady Hester Pitt, and their son, John Pitt, Esq." Lord Temple's resignation was also noticed in the same Gazette; but his successor in office was not named till the 25th of November following, when the Duke of Bedford, the late lord lieutenant of Ireland, was appointed keeper of the privy-seal.

It cannot be a matter of surprise, that the resignation of so popular a minister as Mr. Pitt, should have spread an alarm, and excited the most violent conflict between the admirers and censurers of his conduct. The splendour of his abilities, and the general success of his measures, afforded the former ample subjects of encomium; while the latter found sufficient room for censure in the inconsistency of his opinions respecting the war on the continent, and his frequent misapplication of the national strength. In consequence of Mr. Pitt's removal from the situation he held in the government, several noblemen of the first rank retired from office in disgust, and most individuals who

were supposed to be attached to the late ministry, were deprived of their places, to give room to natives of North Britain, to whom, through the influence of the Earl of Bute, an evident partiality was shown; in consequence of which the town was deluged with an inundation of pamphlets, wherein the liberty of the press was perverted to the purposes of contending factions, and very little regard was paid by either party to decency or truth. But history must not be made the record of extravagant panegyrics, or of malicious invectives. Its duty is simply to state facts, to place them in the strongest light, and to enable the reader to draw just inferences.

Though the majority of the council had opposed the late secretary's proposal for an immediate attack upon Spain, they were far from being satisfied with the answers of that court, or with its professions of amicable intention towards Great Britain. The French agents at foreign courts had also been very busy in circulating reports of the family compact between the different branches of the house of Bourbon, in expectation, no doubt, of frightening the new ministry of George the Third, after Mr. Pitt's secession, into a treaty of peace on their own terms. But they were unacquainted with the characters of the men whom they hoped to intimidate. The Earl of Egremont, who had succeeded to the office of secretary for the southern department, sensible of the necessity of behaving with spirit in the dispute with Spain, or of utterly forfeiting the confidence of the people, wrote to the British ambassador at Madrid, desiring him to make use of the most pressing instances to obtain an explicit account of that secret, though so much vaunted, convention between France and Spain, as absolutely necessary before any farther negociation could be entered into on the former points of dispute. His

instructions to the Earl of Bristol afford a strong proof of the steady resolution of the British cabinet at that juncture. "In order," says he, "to prevent any perverse impressions, which Mr. Pitt's retiring from public business might occasion, it is proper that I should assure your excellency, that the measures of government will suffer no relaxation on that account. On the contrary, I may venture to promise, that the idea suggested by some malevolent person at home, and perhaps industriously propagated abroad, of the whole spirit of the war subsiding with him, instead of discouraging, will only tend to animate the present ministry to a more vigorous exertion of their powers, to avoid every possible imputation of indecision or indolence which ignorant prejudice might suggest: and the example of the spirit of the late measures will be a spur to his Majesty's servants to persevere, and to stretch every nerve of this country, towards forcing the enemy to come into a safe, honourable, and, above all, a lasting peace." Such was the language of the British ministry on this trying occasion, and such were the principles to which they firmly adhered. While the effect of their remonstrances at the court of Madrid was still uncertain, they prepared for a rupture, in case it could not be honourably avoided, with the utmost vigour. A squadron of men of war, having under convoy a number of transports with four battalions from Belleisle, sailed from England, the latter end of October, and was to be joined in the West Indies by such an accession of naval and military force as would render the whole armament the most formidable ever seen in that part of the world. The immediate object of this expedition was the conquest of Martinico, and of the remaining French islands; after which, a part of the armament was to co-operate with another fleet from England in an attack

on the Havannah, as soon as the refusal of proper satisfaction should render hostilities justifiable. A third enterprise, to be directed against the Philippine islands, was also resolved upon, in conformity to a plan of operations presented by Colonel Draper.

The new Parliament met on the 3d of November; and as his Majesty had not suffered his ministers to exert the influence of the crown, or to employ the treasures of the nation, in biassing electors, the House of Commons might then be called the free and fair representative of the people. The first business was the choice of a Speaker, which having unanimously fallen on Sir John Cust, the member for Grantham, he was presented to his Majesty on the 6th, when the King delivered a speech from the throne, in which, among other topics, he assured the House of his regret at the unsuccessful termination of the late negociation for peace, and added, "that the steady exertion of our most vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy may still be attacked with advantage, is the only means that can be productive of such a peace, as may with reason be expected from our successes. It is therefore my fixed resolution, with your concurrence and support, to carry on the war in the most effectual manner for the interest and advantage of my kingdoms; and to maintain, to the utmost of my power, the good faith and honour of my crown, by adhering firmly to the engagements entered into with my allies. In this I will persevere, until my enemies, moved by their own losses and distresses, and touched with the miseries of so many nations, shall yield to the equitable conditions of an honourable peace." The speech proceeded to express his Majesty's sorrow at the necessity of large supplies, and called the attention of the House of Commons to a provision

for the Queen, in case she should survive her royal consort.

This speech met with the most cordial returns of loyalty and affection from Parliament. Addresses were unanimously agreed to by the Lords and Commons, giving his Majesty the strongest assurances of their concurrence and support. They were very warm in their congratulations on his nuptials with a Princess, worthy to be the partner of his throne. They professed themselves fully persuaded, that those beneficent dispositions which induced his Majesty to consent to the appointment of a congress for a general pacification, and to enter into a negociation with France for a particular peace, could not have failed of the desired effect, if the enemy had shown the same good intentions. They acknowledged his Majesty's vigilance and firmness in not suffering the hopes of peace to suspend or relax the exertion of his arms; and promosed the most effectual support in prosecuting the war to that desirable end, an honourable peace. The Commons farther resolved to send a message to the Queen to congratulate her also on her nuptials; and to assure her of the most dutiful and zealous attachment of that House. Thirteen of the members waited upon her Majesty on the 17th of November, with this message, for which she returned her thanks; and on the 19th the Commons resolved, that in case the Queen should survive his Majesty, she should enjoy a provision of 100,000*l.* per annum during her life, together with the palace of Somerset House, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Park. The bill received the royal assent on the 2d of December, when the Queen, who was present, and placed in a chair of state at the King's right hand, rose up, and made her obeisance.

Much discontent having been excited by the abuse

of the compelling clause in the act, passed during the last session, for the relief of insolvent debtors, a motion for its repeal was the first legislative measure which engaged the attention of the new Parliament. The supporters of this motion represented the clause as an encouragement to idleness and profligacy; as having involved numberless industrious families in ruin; and as having inflicted a deadly blow on public and private credit. They, at the same time, lamented the necessity of precluding many honest and unfortunate men from the fair benefit of the act in future, because such numbers of villains had already availed themselves of it, and might still continue to do so, for the most fraudful purposes. A few members were of opinion, that although the privilege had been undoubtedly perverted, it might still, under proper restrictions, be made a salutary regulation, equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and of general policy. They admitted, that the security of credit, the sheet anchor of a trading nation, ought not, from the impulses of mistaken lenity, to be exposed to any alarming shocks; but they thought that the rigours of strict justice, and of the laws respecting imprisonment for debt, might be mitigated not only without injury, but with the greatest advantage to industry and commerce. The majority, however, being of different sentiments, or, perhaps, influenced by the violent outcry raised against the clause in the city of London and other mercantile towns, a bill for its repeal was brought in, and passed.

Within a month after the first estimates had been laid before the House of Commons, they adjusted the whole business of supplies, and of ways and means, for the service of the ensuing year. They voted 70,000 seamen . they agreed to maintain the land-forces, to the number of 67,676 effective men, over and above the militia of England, the

two regiments of fencibles in North Britain, the provincial troops in America, and 67,167 German auxiliaries to support the war in Westphalia. In proportioning the supply, they likewise made good the foreign subsidies, as well as the deficiencies in the grants of the last session. Besides the standing resources of the land tax and malt tax, and the other impositions already laid for raising the interest of the public debt, a loan of 12,000,000*l.* was found necessary, which, of course, rendered some new taxes unavoidable. These were, a farther tax upon windows, and additional duties on spirituous liquors, the produce of both to be carried to, and made part of, the sinking fund, on which the annuities for paying the interest of the loan were charged. The various sums voted by the Commons, from the 21st of November till the 22d of December, amounted to very near 16,000,000*l.*; to which were added, a few months after, above 2,000,000*l.* more, for the defence of Portugal and other purposes.

The only debate to which such liberal grants of the public money gave rise at the present juncture, was on the expediency of the German war. This question had often been agitated, both in and out of Parliament; and it now seemed too late to resume the discussion of measures in which Great Britain was so far engaged that she could not recede with honour. Yet the opponents of the continental system were not without hopes of a triumph over their political adversaries in this renewal of the contest. They had another year's experience to bring in support of their former assertions, that no adequate advantage could result from the most vigorous efforts in that quarter. They now had also on their side the great body of the people, who, being no longer dazzled by brilliant exploits, had fallen into a very general dislike of the plan of operations for the last two years. As previous notice had been given, that this matter

would be brought forward on the 9th of December, (the day before the Commons were to sanction some resolutions of the committee of supply, relating to the same object,) the House was so crowded with strangers to hear the debate, that it was with difficulty the members could get to their places.

The speakers against the German system represented it as one of all others the most absurd, in which defeats were attended with their usual fatal effects, and victory itself could not save Great Britain from ruin; a system that would rob her of the fruits of her naval successes, and at length drain her exchequer to such a degree as would force her to buy peace by the restitution of all her conquests. "We will not enter," said they, "into that long and vainly agitated question, Whether we ought to take any part in the differences which may arise between the powers on the continent. This disquisition is foreign to the present purpose; and it is besides of too vague and general a nature to admit of any precise determination: but this undoubtedly may be asserted, that we never can, consistently with common prudence, engage in a continental war against France, without a concurrence in our favour of the other powers on the continent. This was the maxim of the great King William, and this the foundation of the grand alliance which he projected, and at the head of which, in defence of the liberties of Europe, he made the most augustappearance of which human nature is capable. It was on this principle, that, in conjunction with half Europe, we carried on the war with so much honour and success against France, under the Duke of Marlborough. But to engage in a continental war with that power, not only unassisted, but opposed, by the greatest part of those states with whom we were then combined, is an attempt never to be justified by any comparative calculation of the populousness, the revenues, or the

general strength of the two nations. It is a desperate struggle which must finally end in our ruin."

The place chosen for this struggle was the next object of their animadversions. They did not think it possible to fix upon any other spot so disadvantageous to England, or so favourable to all the views of her enemies. By making Germany the theatre of war, and by turning the swords of the several states against each other, the French had the pleasure to see that vast and populous country, which had always been the strongest bulwark against their ambition, laid waste and desolate; while England, whose interest it was to keep the whole body firm and compact, co-operated with her blood and treasure in completing its disunion. "Besides," continued they, "France is thus enabled to support her armies in a great degree by pillaging those whom, in every respect, it is her interest to weaken. The scene of action too being at so convenient a distance, she can easily furnish her troops with provisions and recruits, so that a great part of the money she spends returns into her bosom. Is she repulsed? that repulse brings her army nearer home, where she procures supplies with still greater facility, and exhausts still less the natural wealth of her people. Are her forces driven quite back into their own country? even then the same advantages on her side are increased; and very obvious circumstances render it impossible for the allied army to push their success on the German frontiers of France to any decisive consequence. But to the English every thing is unfavourable in such a war. The transport service alone is attended with a prodigious expense: the other immense sums in specie which are sent to Germany are still more irrecoverably lost; for it may be asserted with great truth, that of the 5,000,000*l.* annually swallowed up in that remote gulf, not a shilling returns to the country where it was raised.

Should the fate of battle turn against the British arms, they would be obliged to retreat, until, cut off from all communication with the sea, and from the possibility of receiving supplies or reinforcements, they must at length capitulate. Were they, on the other hand, to prove victorious, their success would only carry them farther from their resources, and every step of their progress must make the conveyance of stores, artillery, and the other infinite encumbrances of a large army, more difficult, and in the end altogether impracticable. This is not speculation: the events which followed the battle of Crevelt have proved it. Prince Ferdinand, after gaining that action, was obliged, rather from the difficulty of subsisting, than through any fear of the enemy, to repass the Rhine, and to carry back into the heart of Westphalia, the war with which he had threatened France. Thus victory itself, upon the present plan, cannot work out our salvation: it serves only to accumulate our difficulties and distresses."

In addition to these arguments, they anticipated a reply which they knew would be made by their adversaries, namely, that the war in Germany had proved a most fortunate diversion in favour of the English, by drawing off the forces and revenues, as well as the attention of France from her navy, from the defence of her colonies, and from any formidable enterprises against Great Britain. All this they positively contradicted. "Let us," said they, "fairly examine the real state of the French; and we shall soon be convinced, that it is not the German war which has diverted them from the protection of their foreign settlements, or from any other attempts by which they could annoy this country. Their military establishment does not fall short of 300,000 men: Germany employs only 120,000: they have no other enemy to oppose on the continent of

Europe: consequently 180,000 men remain inactive; and half that number would be sufficient either for distant expeditions to America, and the West Indies, or for spreading alarm on the coast of England. But the fact is, they neither have ships to transport those troops, nor a fleet to protect them in their passage. How then can the war in Germany be called a diversion of their forces, when it is evident they do not want men, but the means of safe conveyance to any other theatre of action? Nor can that war be deemed a diversion of their revenues, as it was impossible for them to employ their treasure so effectually elsewhere. They had a just sense of the value of their colonies; and they would certainly have exerted their principal resources, both of men and money, in the defence of such important possessions, had they not found the task altogether impracticable. A formidable fleet and a great number of transports were absolutely necessary for that purpose; and where or how were the French to procure them? Their own ships were detained in English ports; their sailors in English prisons: their fishery was destroyed; their navigation at an end; and all their principal harbours, both in Europe and America, were blocked up by the squadrons of Great Britain. Suppose they had purchased ships from any of the maritime states, would not the attempt to assemble a navy be defeated by our cruisers and our fleets of observation? But, even admitting they could so far elude the vigilance of our squadrons, their ships must rot in the harbour for want of seamen. In the beginning of the war, while there was any possibility of supporting their marine, they attended to this object with the most assiduous care; and while they saw any likelihood of invading England with success, they had not the least idea of marching into Germany. The electorate of Hanover was so far from being thought in danger, that a body

of troops was brought over thence to defend this country. But afterwards, when France perceived that we were guarded against insult, that her own navy was destroyed, and her colonies exposed, she then bethought herself of Germany; and it was she, in reality, that diverted or transferred the war to the only place where she was capable of acting, and where she knew Great Britain must be exhausted, even by a succession of victories. The German war was not, on the part of England, a war of diversion, but a war of defence, in favour of a barren electorate, which, if put up to sale, would not fetch half the money that is yearly expended in its behalf; for the protection of a country, whose inhabitants are rendered miserable by the assistance they receive; and for the support of an ally, from whom no mutual service can be expected. If a third part of the money thus squandered away on the continent had been employed in giving additional vigour to the naval armaments of Great Britain, France, by this time, would not have one settlement left in the West Indies, all the profits of her external commerce must have ceased; and she must have been absolutely obliged to accept such terms of peace as England should think proper to prescribe."

After having thus commented upon the infatuation of Great Britain in renouncing the advantages of her naval superiority, and in leaving her enemies the choice of a field where defeat could do them little harm, and where she herself must be exhausted, even by a succession of her own victories, the opposition made some very severe remarks on the particular engagements we had entered into with some of the continental powers. "We had," as they asserted, "officiously meddled with the internal broils of the empire, and taken a part in disputes which would have been much better adjusted without our interference. We had not only sent off from more useful

service the flower of our armies, to defend the territories of some petty German princes, but we contracted enormous debts to pay those princes for assisting us in guarding their rights, and in fighting their battles. Was such an absurdity in politics," they asked, "ever before heard of? Is England to be the knight-errant of Europe, and to neglect her own immediate concerns and her solid interest in the pursuit of foreign phantoms? Are we to waste all our resources upon Hanoverians, Hessians, Brunswickers;—allies, who, if they merit that name, serve only to protract the feeble efforts of a system, in which nothing could so effectually contribute to our safety as an early and total defeat? But even these connexions," they said, "though burdensome and unavailing, did not half so much expose the ignorance of our negotiators, as the treaty made with the King of Prussia, to whom we annually paid a sum exceeding the whole amount of the subsidies granted in Queen Anne's war to all her German allies put together; and who was so far from being able to afford any relief to our armies, that he was scarcely in a condition to support himself: so that this alliance is less excusable than the former, as it is a heavy charge, compensated not only with no real, but with no apparent, or showy advantages. Indeed, he is an ally the last in the world we ought to have chosen, on account of his long intimacy with our worst enemies, the mean and the hostile sentiments he has always entertained towards us, the injuries he has done us, and the general lightness of his faith with regard to his former friends. We look upon him, it is true, as the protector of the Protestant religion: but how lightly he thinks of all religion, his writings testify; and what mischiefs he has done the Protestant cause in particular, this war will be a lasting memorial. He invaded and cruelly oppressed Saxony, a Protestant country, where he

found the people secured from any molestation on account of their religious opinions. Even among the Roman Catholics, persecution had lost much of its edge, when he revived its memory; and, by forcing the Popish powers into a strict union, brought more calamities upon the divided Protestants than they had ever experienced during the utmost rancour of a holy war."

Such was the substance of the speeches against the whole system of continental measures; and it must be owned, that many of the arguments seemed to carry with them no small degree of conviction. Those, however, who embraced the opposite side of the question, made a very ingenious defence. They ridiculed the idea of going back half a century, to the reign of King William or Queen Anne, to examine the principles of a continental war, or to compare the policy and resources of the two contending nations. "The present time," said they, "is the only just criterion by which we can judge; and here we have manifestly the advantage. The success which our arms, alone and unassisted, have had in this contest with France, is a sufficient proof that we are an overmatch for all her power. What then should deter us from continuing the war? Is it because she once maintained a long struggle against the grand confederacy? This is precisely the circumstance that now turns the balance in our favour, and dictates the prosecution of measures which have been so fatal to her. The efforts she made at that juncture exhausted her strength to such a degree, that she has not recovered since. The last war contributed to her decay; and the present has nearly completed her ruin. This, therefore, is the moment to press her on every side, and to check for ever that ambitious spirit, which has been long and so vainly aiming at universal empire."

In answer to what had been urged against the

folly of waging war on the continent, they ascribed to this very scheme the happy issue of all our other operations. The attention of our rival was thereby distracted between the different enterprises at sea and land: eagerly grasping at two grand objects, she had missed both; and the only fruits of her mighty exertions were the ruin of her trade, the destruction of her marine, the loss of her colonies, and the impending terrors of national bankruptcy. "Was it not," they added, "by involving France in the German war, that we diverted her from the vigorous defence of her distant possessions, and that we have become masters of some of the most considerable of them? Was it not in consequence of her embarking so heartily in that war, that she afforded us an opportunity of giving such a blow to her naval power as she may never, perhaps, be able to recover? And has she made any progress in Germany to counterbalance her disappointments elsewhere? Far from it. At this instant she is less advanced than she was the first year she entered that country, after having spent immense sums of money, and lost, by the sword, by disease, and desertion, at least 100,000 of her people." They admitted that the burden of this war, in concert with the allies, lay chiefly upon Great Britain; but, if the advantage was in any degree equivalent, the money was employed to good purpose. "Our successes," they affirmed, "are proportioned to our disbursements, and the increase of our wealth keeps pace with that of our expenditure. No period of our history affords such a series of the most important conquests. In the East and West our fleets and armies have been alike victorious. Our old trade has been secured, and new sources of commercial opulence have been opened. Even on the continent, where our enemies have made the most desperate push, have they not been frequently de-

feated? Has not Hanover been recovered and protected? Has not the King of Prussia been preserved, so long at least, from the rage of his enemies? And have not the liberties of Germany, in general, been hitherto secured? Had we lain by, and tamely beheld that vast empire in part possessed, and the rest compelled to receive laws from France, the war there would soon have been brought to an end; and France, strengthened by victory, conquest, and alliance, would have the whole force, and the whole revenue of her monarchy to act against us alone."

They argued farther, "that common faith obliged us to an adherence to our engagements both with Hanover and Prussia; and that the pleaded incapacity to assist them, arising from the greatness of the charge, could not excuse us; because the incapacity was not real: and if the expense were inconvenient, we ought to have looked to that when we contracted our engagements." They said, "it was not true, that we received no advantage from our alliance with the King of Prussia; for if it be once admitted that we entered with any reason into the German war, (which they supposed to be no longer disputable,) then the King of Prussia has been materially serviceable to us; because it was his victory at Rosbach, and the reinforcement from his troops, which enabled us to do all that has been since achieved. In like manner, if the support of the Protestant religion be any part of our care, that religion must suffer eminently by the ruin of the King of Prussia; for though the writings attributed to his Prussian Majesty are such as, if really his, reflect, on account of their impiety, great disgrace on his character as a man; yet, as a King, in his public and political capacity, he is the natural protector of the Protestant religion in Germany; and it will always be his interest to defend it."

Whatever might have been the sentiments of the new ministry respecting the original policy of the German war, they saw very well that it could not now be honourably or consistently relinquished. The faith of Parliament was also pledged to assist the allies; and the best judges were of opinion, that vigorous efforts for one campaign more would terminate the contest, and bring the French to reasonable terms. The opposition therefore to continental measures, however well supported by argument, was overruled by numbers, and expired in the warmth of debate. Yet it was not wholly unproductive of good effects. It showed government, very clearly, what was the sense of the nation on the subject; and it prevented the renewal of the annual convention with the King of Prussia, though assurances were at the same time given him of pecuniary aid as before.

The supplies of the year and some other business of immediate utility being settled, the King went to the House of Peers on the 23d of December, and gave his assent to such bills as were ready; after which the Parliament adjourned on the 19th of January. During that recess the public attention was roused to an incident of national importance. Before the Earl of Egremont's dispatches concerning the family compact could reach Madrid, the English ambassador there had himself received intelligence of the treaty, and of the hopes which the French made no secret of deriving from it. He therefore thought it his duty to desire some satisfaction on that head from Mr. Wall, the Spanish secretary of state. But though he expressed his uneasiness in consequence of such rumours with equal force and delicacy, Mr. Wall, evading a direct reply to the main point of inquiry, entered into a long and bitter complaint, not only of the treatment which Spain had received from the British court, but of

the haughtiness of its late proceedings with France. "He told me," says the Earl of Bristol in his letter of the 2d of November, "we were intoxicated with all our successes, and a continued series of victories had elated us so far, as to induce us to contemn the reasonable concessions France had consented to make; but that it was evident, by this refusal, all we aimed at was, first to ruin the French power, in order more easily to crush Spain, to drive all the subjects of the Christian King not only from their island colonies in the new world, but also to destroy their several forts and settlements upon the continent of North America, to have an easier task in seizing on all the Spanish dominions in those parts, thereby to satisfy the utmost of our ambition, and to gratify our unbounded thirst of conquest." Mr. Wall added, with uncommon warmth, "that he would himself be the man to advise the King of Spain, since his dominions were to be overwhelmed, at least to have them seized with arms in his subjects' hands, and not to continue the passive victim he had hitherto appeared to be in the eyes of the world."

Such a sudden change of sentiments and discourse could not but astonish and perplex the Earl of Bristol. He was naturally led into various conjectures, to account for this incoherency of behaviour. At first, he imagined that the late arrival at Cadiz of two ships with extremely rich cargoes, containing the remainder of the wealth that was expected from Spanish America, had raised the language of the court of Madrid, added to the progress, which, it was reported, the French army was making in the King of England's electoral dominions, and the success attending the Austrian operations in Silesia. He ascribed the former soothing declarations of the Spanish ministers to the consciousness of their naval inferiority; and he supposed that those fears were

now removed, or greatly abated, by the safe arrival of the above ships, and by the continual flatteries of the French, who, whilst they inflamed the jealousy of Spain at the British conquests, and solicited a junction of forces to put a stop to them, never ceased assuring the Spaniards, that even the signing of an alliance between the two great branches of the house of Bourbon would intimidate England, not only upon account of its being exhausted by the present long and expensive war, but by its having felt the fatal consequences of an interruption of the Spanish trade, during the last war. But, though all these circumstances very probably co-operated in producing so great a revolution in the Spanish councils, yet the Earl of Bristol was afterwards convinced, that its immediate cause was the intelligence then received at Madrid, of Mr. Pitt's violent proposal in the cabinet, before he went out of office. On this point, his excellency, in a subsequent letter to the Earl of Egremont, dated Madrid, December the 7th, says, "What had occasioned the great fermentation during that period at this court, the effects of which I felt from General Wall's animated discourse at the Escurial, was the notice having, about that time, reached the Catholic King, that the change which had happened in the English administration was relative to measures proposed to be taken against this country. Hence arose that sudden wrath and passion, which, for a short time, affected the whole Spanish court; as it was thought most extraordinary here, that the declaring war against the Catholic King should ever have been moved in his Majesty's councils, since the Spaniards have always looked upon themselves as the aggrieved party; and, of course, never could imagine that the English would be the first to begin a war with them." But, whatever impression Mr. Pitt's proposal may have made on the minds of the

Spaniards, the fullest praise was due to the Earl of Bristol's conduct in this delicate conjuncture. Though totally unprepared for a conference that differed so widely from all former conversations on the same subject, he replied with coolness to the invectives, and with firmness to the menaces, of the Spanish minister. After refuting in the best manner what Mr. Wall had urged, he returned to his first demand, an explanation concerning the treaty. As often as a direct answer was evaded, the same question was again put; and at length the only reply that could with difficulty be extorted, was, "That his Catholic Majesty had judged it expedient to renew his family compacts with the most Christian King." Then Mr. Wall, as if he had gone beyond what he intended, suddenly broke off the discourse, and no farther satisfaction could be obtained.

On the receipt of these advices from the Earl of Bristol, the ministry did not hesitate a moment respecting the line they were to pursue. They saw evidently that there was little reason to hope for any good effects from farther patience and forbearance; that the continuance of their former moderation might be attributed to timidity; and that the language of Spain would no longer permit any doubt of her hostile intentions. Not a moment was therefore lost in sending back orders to the English ambassador, directing him to renew his former instances relative to the treaty with France, and to demand a clear and categorical declaration from the court of Madrid, whether they intended to depart in any manner from their professed neutrality, and to join in hostilities against Great Britain. These points he was to urge with energy, but without the mixture of any thing which might irritate; and he was farther authorized to signify, that a peremptory refusal to communicate the treaty, or to disavow an intention to take part with the declared and inveterate enemies of Great Britain,

could not be looked upon by the King of England in any light, but as an aggression on the part of Spain, and as an absolute declaration of war. The Earl of Bristol acted in strict conformity with such decisive, yet temperate instructions. He gradually unfolded the purport and extent of them in two conferences with Mr. Wall, on the 6th and the 8th of December; and, in two days after, he received the following letter from that minister:

"My Lord,

"Your excellency having expressed to me, the day before yesterday, and being even pleased to put in writing, that you had orders to ask a positive and categorical answer to the question, if Spain thought of joining herself with France against England? declaring at the same time, that you should look upon the refusal as a declaration of war; and that you would, in consequence, leave this court. The spirit of haughtiness and of discord, which dictated this inconsiderate step, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigns so much in the British government, is what made, in the same instant, the declaration of war, and attacked the King's dignity. Your excellency may think of retiring when, and in what manner, it is convenient to you; which is the only answer that, without detaining you, his Majesty has ordered me to give you. The indisposition your excellency saw me in, scarce permitted me to go to receive the King's commands.

"May your excellency carry away with you all the happiness which corresponds to your personal qualities, and the constant remembrance of the sincere affection with which I am, praying God for the long preservation of your life,

"Most excellent Lord,

"I kiss your excellency's hands,

"Your obedient servant,

"DON RICARDO WALL."

"*Buen Retiro*, 10*th Dec.* 1761."

Nothing could be more frivolous than the pretence for taking umbrage at the Earl of Bristol's statement of the instructions transmitted to him by his court. Had he failed in point of punctilio, or had he made an abrupt demand, unauthorised by the law of nations, the court of Madrid might have resented his personal behaviour, and complained of it by their ambassador at London. But still the affront would have been deemed, by all the reasonable part of mankind, too trifling a cause for involving nations in the misery and horrors of war. Yet even this plea was wanting. The earl did not insist upon a categorical answer until every milder method had been tried without success. He then sustained, with becoming spirit, the dignity of his country; and quitted Madrid, sincerely lamenting the failure of his endeavours to preserve an union between the two crowns, and expressing in his last dispatches from that city this patriotic wish, which he had the pleasure to see fully accomplished: "May Great Britain, in the course of the ensuing war, prove, that the combined forces of Spain and France are not sufficient to eclipse her glory, or to cope with her strength!"

The Earl of Bristol left Madrid the 17th of December; and, on the 25th of the same month, the Spanish ambassador in London received letters of recal from his court. The note which he delivered on that occasion to the secretary of state, was somewhat in the nature of a manifesto, charging the war on the pride and unmeasurable ambition of the late secretary, and on the little respect shown to his Catholic Majesty, both during that minister's continuance in office, and since his resignation. Lord Egremont's memorial in reply, dated the 31st of December, has been much admired for its moderation, perspicuity, and force. He did not stoop to personal invectives, but endeavoured to prove, by

an exact and faithful detail of what had passed between the two courts, that Spain alone was to be blamed for all the misfortunes inseparable from a rupture.

The British ministry discovered no precipitation or alarm at Spain's having finally thrown off the mask, but took the most effectual measures to resist her efforts, and to uphold the character of the nation. A clear account of the endeavours which had been used to accommodate the disputes with Spain in an amicable manner, and of the circumstances which now rendered a rupture unavoidable, was given at full length in his Majesty's declaration of the 2d of January, 1762: war against that country was formally proclaimed on the 4th; and, on the 19th, being the day to which Parliament had adjourned, the King communicated the steps which he had been obliged to take since the recess, in a speech to both Houses. "My own conduct," he said, "since my accession to the throne, as well as that of the late King, my royal grandfather, towards Spain, has been so full of good will and friendship, so averse to the laying hold of several just grounds of complaint, which might have been alleged, and so attentive to the advantages of the Catholic King and his family, that it was matter of the greatest surprise to me to find that engagements had, in this conjuncture, been entered into between that court and France, and a treaty made to unite all the branches of the house of Bourbon in the most ambitious and dangerous designs against the commerce and independency of the rest of Europe, and particularly of my kingdoms.

The Commons were unanimous in their approbation of his Majesty's conduct respecting Spain, and in their assurances of steady and vigorous support. The Lords agreed to an address expressive of the same sentiments; but this subject gave rise to a

debate on the most effectual means of carrying on the war, in which they discovered great difference of opinion. From a protest, which was then entered on the journals, it appears, that on Friday the 5th of February, when the Lords, according to order, proceeded to take the speech into consideration, a motion was made for declaring it to be the opinion of the House, "that the war then carried on in Germany was necessarily attended with a great and enormous expense, and that, notwithstanding all the efforts that could possibly be made, there seemed no probability the army there, in the pay of Great Britain, so much inferior to that of France, could be put into such a situation as to effectuate any good purpose whatsoever; and that the bringing the British troops home from Germany would enable his Majesty more effectually to carry on with vigour the war against the united forces of France and Spain, give strength and security to Great Britain and Ireland, support the public credit, and, by easing the nation of a load of expense, be the likeliest means, under the blessing of God, to procure a safe and honourable peace;" which motion was strongly objected to, and the previous question carried by a majority of 105 against 16. Seven, however, of the latter, including the Duke of Bedford, one of the principal members of administration, signed a protest, expressive of their dissent from such proceedings, "because," among other reasons, "a continental war carried on in Germany without allies, and at the sole expense of Great Britain, whilst this nation is involved in a war with the two most considerable maritime powers of Europe, cannot be esteemed a system of true policy; as France, let the success against her arms be ever so great, is not vulnerable from that quarter; and Spain, on account of her distance, would, doubtless, not be intimidated by the success of the British

arms in Germany. The expedience of the present continental war cannot be justified, either on the principles of its being a war of the diversion of the forces of France from the invading his Majesty's dominions, or the succouring their own colonies, both of which they are incapacitated from doing, by the ruin of their naval force: neither can it be alleged as a measure calculated to support the King of Prussia, who is not at war with France, nor in danger, though the British troops should be withdrawn, of being crushed by that power, whose interest will undoubtedly restrain her from taking a step, which could only tend to the aggrandizement of the house of Austria, the ancient and natural rival of the house of Bourbon."

This protest, which contained a summary of the most forcible arguments that had been urged against the prosecution of the German war, was highly and almost universally applauded by the people; and though it produced no immediate change in the measures of government, it strengthened the impression made by the former debate of the Commons on the same subject; and it showed very evidently, that, if the ensuing campaign should not put an end to the continental struggle, any farther supplies for its continuance would be obtained with extreme difficulty.

The other transactions in this session of Parliament make so little show, when compared with the occurrences of the same period on the theatre of war, as to admit of only a few concise remarks. The operation of the act for laying a farther duty on beer and ale being now felt in its fullest extent, the streets of London and Westminster were filled with tumult. The populace vowed revenge against the brewers for exacting a higher price than usual from the publicans, and threatened to pull down the houses of any of the latter who should continue

to charge an additional halfpenny for every quart of porter. The intimidated parties, under the terror of such menaces, petitioned the House of Commons for protection and relief; and a bill was passed in favour of their request. It implied, that no brewer or retailer of strong beer or ale should be molested for raising the price of malt liquors in proportion to the tax on these necessaries; and that, on the other hand, they should not be permitted to mix it on any pretence whatsoever, after its being gauged by an officer of the excise. This interposition of the legislature not only restrained the mob from committing any acts of outrage, but tended greatly to abate their clamour by quieting their suspicions with respect to fraud on the brewer's part, or the least adulteration of their favourite beverage. A great deal of confusion was also prevented by some wise and wholesome amendments of the militia laws. They were very properly reduced into one act, where all the regulations were placed in due order, and stated with clearness and precision. An exact line was drawn between those who were liable to serve, and such as were exempted from any compulsion. The former were to be chosen by ballot, as before; or otherwise the parish officers, with the consent of the inhabitants, were authorized to provide volunteers, by a rate on the parish, in proportion to that for the relief of the poor. Thus every man was obliged to pay his quota; and all parishes had it in their power to keep their useful hands at home, and to employ the idle and dissolute in the service of their country.

As a check upon the cruelties which were strongly suspected to be exercised by the nurses of parish children, a law was enacted for keeping an annual register of those infants in every parish, under the age of four, a time of life in which they were more particularly exposed to the barbarity of their nurses.

It would be a sort of ingratitude for public services not to take notice of the encouragement given, in the same session, to various projects of the most beneficial tendency. One was the extension of the Duke of Bridgewater's navigable canals. A bill readily passed through both Houses for enabling his grace to carry on his admirable plan from Longford bridge to the river Mersey, which was to open a communication with Liverpool. The branches of this inland navigation have since been extended to all the manufacturing towns of the adjoining counties; and the duke lived to complete an undertaking of greater magnitude, and of more national utility, than had ever before been attempted by any individual. Another scheme, which had for its object the better supplying of London and Westminster with fresh fish by land carriage from different parts of the kingdom, received the sanction of Parliament.

Rewards for the discovery of the longitude had long been the object of an express law; but it was now deemed necessary to render that act more effectual, by extending the benefit of it to persons who should make any satisfactory progress towards so desirable an end, though their experiments might fall short of its full accomplishment. In consequence of this new bill, a board of longitude was held at the Admiralty, to consider the merit of some late attempts which had been made to supply that grand desideratum in the art of navigation. Mr. Harrison, a clock-maker of London, had contrived a curious time-piece, which, under the direction of his son, was tried in a voyage to the West Indies, and found to succeed infinitely beyond any thing hitherto invented for the same purpose. He and his son were immediately rewarded with a grant of 1500*l.*; and, the year after, he obtained from Parliament 5000*l.* more, for discovering the principles on which

his instrument was constructed. Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, had also contrived a marine chair, by means of which the immersions and emersions of Jupiter's satellites might be accurately observed in the roughest weather at sea, and the longitude, of course, ascertained. After some satisfactory trials of this machine, 500*l.* were bestowed on the inventor as the recompence of his ingenuity.

Besides the other supplies voted for the service of the year, the House of Commons granted 1,000,000*l.* for the purposes specified in a message, which was laid before the House on the 11th of May, and stated that, "his Majesty, taking into his most serious consideration the imminent danger with which the kingdom of Portugal, an ancient and natural ally of his crown, is threatened by the powers now in open war with his Majesty, and of what importance the preservation of that kingdom is to the commercial interests of this country, is desirous that this House will enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war." The message was taken into consideration on the 13th. In the debate, Mr. Pitt and one of his friends betrayed great eagerness to connect the propriety of assisting Portugal with the necessity of continuing the war in Germany; though the former was enforced by every consideration of honour, interest, and policy, while the best arguments in favour of the latter appeared to be very disputable.

On the 2d of June his Majesty put an end to the session with a speech, in which he expressed the highest approbation of the zeal, unanimity, and dispatch manifested in the course of their proceedings. He said that his own sentiments respecting war and peace continued invariably the same, and that it gave him great satisfaction to find them confirmed by the voice of his Parliament. He took notice of a late change in the government of Russia, and of

its probable consequences: he mentioned the rupture with Spain, and the danger that threatened Portugal, as proofs of the wisdom and necessity of the vigorous measures which had been resolved upon, pointing out some of the happy effects already produced by these measures, in the conquest of Martinico, and the acquisition of many other valuable settlements in the West Indies: he lamented the heavy burdens which the exigencies of the public service still made it necessary to impose, and promised the strictest economy: he particularly thanked the Commons for the ample provision they had made for the Queen, and then, addressing both Houses, said, "I have the fullest persuasion that you will continue to diffuse in your several counties that spirit of concord which you have yourselves so steadily exerted in Parliament: and you may be assured that I will, on my part, return your zeal and affection for my person and government, by a constant attention to whatever may contribute to the ease of my subjects; and that it is my ardent wish to found the glories of my reign on the union of my people, and on the welfare and prosperity of these my kingdoms!"

## CHAPTER III.

*Change in the King of Prussia's affairs by the death of the Empress of Russia—Accession of Peter the Third—Enters into an alliance with Frederick—Its successful results to the latter threatened by a reverse through the imprudence and death of Peter the Third—Catherine the Second ascends the throne of Russia, and determines on maintaining neutrality—Sketch of the Prussian operations—Success of the Allies in Germany—Portugal threatened by the Bourbon confederacy — France and Spain declare war against her—She is assisted by Great Britain—General view of the affairs of Portugal—Capture of Martinico, and other French West India islands by the English—The Havannah taken—Capture of the Spanish ship Hermione—Manilla taken by storm, and surrender of the whole of the Phillippine islands—The Galleon from Manilla to Acapulco taken—Failure of a private expedition against Buenos Ayres—Summary of the disasters sustained by Spain during the war—France involved in the same calamities—Attempt to burn the British Squadron in the Bay of Basque—Newfoundland taken and retaken.*

THE hopeless situation of the King of Prussia at the close of the last campaign has been already described. The loss of Colberg, on one side, and of Schweidnitz, on the other, left his dominions almost without a barrier; and his army was too much reduced to face any of the invaders in the open field. No resource of policy, no effort of skill or heroism, could any longer be tried with the

least probability of success. At this alarming crisis, the storm just ready to burst upon his head was happily dissipated, by one of those unexpected events which give a sudden turn to the fortune of nations, after all the means of human foresight and exertion have failed. His most dangerous and inveterate enemy, Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, died on the 2d of January, and was succeeded by her nephew, the Duke of Holstein, a prince of very different sentiments. As none, however, but those who were most intimately acquainted with his character and disposition, could predetermine whether he would abandon or pursue the system of his predecessor, the eyes of all Europe were anxiously turned towards St. Petersburg, in order to observe the direction of his early councils.

The new Czar, who ascended the throne by the name of Peter the Third, though a prince of weak intellect, began his reign with some very laudable and popular regulations. The first use he made of his absolute power was to set the Russian nobility and gentry free, and to put them on a footing with those of the same rank in the other more moderate governments of Europe. He abolished the private chancery, a kind of state-inquisition: he recalled many unhappy exiles from Siberia; and, extending his benign views to his subjects of all conditions, he lessened the taxes upon certain necessaries of life, to the great relief of the poor. His foreign politics, in which Europe was principally concerned, seemed to be governed by the same mild spirit. He ordered a memorial to be delivered, on the 23d of February, to the ministers of his allies, in which he declared, That, in order to procure the re-establishment of peace, as he preferred to every other consideration the first law which God prescribed to sovereigns, the preservation of the people intrusted to them, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests

made by the arms of Russia during the war, in hopes that the allied courts would, on their part, equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity to the advantages which they might expect from the war, but which they could obtain only by a continuance of the effusion of human blood.

This declaration, however, was not made merely from motives of humanity. Besides an extravagant and childish admiration of the King of Prussia, Peter was ambitious of recovering from Denmark the dutchy of Sleswick, to which he had some claims as the Duke of Holstein. His predilection for his native country rendered this object more valuable in his eyes than all the conquests of his predecessor; but he knew that he could not prosecute the attainment of it with sufficient vigour or likelihood of success, while the war with Prussia subsisted. He therefore ordered a cessation of arms, the 16th of March, on receiving an unsatisfactory answer to his memorial from the courts of Vienna and Versailles; and, in about six weeks after, he entered into an alliance with his favourite monarch, without paying the least regard to the interests of his former confederates. He even joined part of his forces to those of his new ally, in order to drive the Austrians out of Silesia, while he commanded another army to march towards Holstein. Sweden soon followed the example, or rather acted under the direction of Russia, in concluding a peace with the court of Berlin.

The King of Prussia lost no time to profit by this great, and almost miraculous, revolution in his favour. The load which had so long oppressed him, and against which he had borne up with astonishing fortitude, being now much lightened, he was again enabled to exert the full powers of his genius against his remaining enemies. His first object was the recovery of Schweidnitz, the next

the expulsion of the Austrians out of Silesia; and in the attainment of these important ends he was greatly assisted by the valour and military skill of his brother, Prince Henry, who gained a signal victory, on the 12th of May, over the Austrians and Imperialists, near Freyberg, in Saxony. By this blow the Prince became so fully master of that electorate, that the Austrians found it necessary to withdraw a considerable body of troops from the war in Silesia, to prevent, if possible, his making irruptions into the heart of Bohemia. Marshal Daun, however, with a large army, still occupied some eminences in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, by which he was enabled to protect that city. But the King of Prussia, being joined by the Russian troops in the latter end of June, undertook to dislodge the Austrian general from those advantageous posts, and finally succeeded. As a direct attack was found to be impracticable, the King had recourse to a variety of masterly movements, which made his adversary apprehensive for the safety of his principal magazine, and even that his communication with Bohemia might be cut off. The cautious Daun accordingly fell back to the frontiers of Silesia, and left Schweidnitz exposed. His Prussian Majesty immediately prepared for the siege, whilst different detachments of his troops, some on the side of Saxony, others on that of Silesia, penetrated deep into Bohemia, laid many parts of the country under contribution, and spread universal alarm. A body of Russian irregulars also made an irruption into the same kingdom, and there retaliated on the Austrians those cruel ravages, which, at the instigation of the court of Vienna, the same barbarous enemy had formerly committed on the Prussian dominions.

Whilst the indefatigable Frederick was thus conducting, with equal spirit and ability, that bold plan

of operations which unexpected circumstances had enabled him to form, he was threatened with a sudden reverse of fortune, in consequence of another revolution in Russia. Peter the Third, in his rage for reform, made more new regulations in a few weeks than a prudent prince would have hazarded in a long reign. His first measures, as before observed, seemed well calculated to procure him the affections of his people; but being of a rash and irregular turn of mind, he in many instances shocked their prejudices, even while he consulted their interests. They could give him but little credit for his early professions of humanity, when they saw that, instead of any sincere and rational endeavours to put a stop to the calamities of war, he had brought in new subjects of dispute, and, by threatening Denmark, left not a single power in the north in a state of assured tranquillity. The preference he so manifestly gave to the chance of an inconsiderable conquest in Holstein over the solid and valuable acquisitions made by his predecessor; his boundless admiration of a prince with whom Russia had been so lately and so long in a state of the most violent hostility; his little regard for his own dignity in soliciting a command in the Prussian service, and, upon receiving it, displaying all the marks of an immoderate and puerile satisfaction; but, above all, the preparations he was making, in the immature state of his government, to quit his own empire, and to go into Germany, for the sake of an interview with that monarch, must have given the politicians of his country the most contemptible opinion of his understanding. He disgusted the Russian nobility by his flagrant partiality to foreigners: he gave the like offence to all the national forces, by constantly preferring his Holstein guards, and by the change he made in favour of the Prussian uniform, to the exclusion of that in which

the Russians thought they had so often asserted the honour of their country. But what he did in matters of religion was still more impolitic. He had been educated a Lutheran, and though he conformed to the Greek church, in order to qualify himself for the succession, he never showed much respect to that mode of worship, to the rites and doctrines of which his subjects had been always extremely attached. Some innovations which he made in regard to images excited an alarm that he was about to change the whole system; and these fears were increased by the suggestions of the clergy, whom he had imprudently provoked by an attempt to strip them of the greater part of their revenues, and an order, which, though of less moment, was hardly less offensive, "that they should be no longer distinguished by beards."

Whilst he was taking these steps to alienate the minds of the people in general, and especially of those bodies whose attachment it was his great interest to secure, he had not the good fortune to live in union with his own family. He had long slighted his consort, a woman of a masculine understanding, by whose counsels he might have profited, and lived in a very public manner with the Countess of Woronzoff, to whom he seemed so much devoted, that it was generally believed he had some thoughts of shutting the Empress up in a convent, and of raising his mistress to the throne. The dissatisfied part of the nobility, clergy, and chief officers of the army, encouraged by this domestic dissension, assembled in the capital, during the Czar's absence at the country palace of Oranjebaum, deposed him formally, and invested the Czarina with the imperial ensigns. She then appeared on horseback, in the uniform of the guards, and putting herself at the head of the malcontents, marched in quest of her husband, who was indulg-

ing himself in indolent amusements when the terrible news reached him. As soon as he recovered from the first shock, he attempted to escape to Holstein, but was seized and thrown into prison, after having been induced, by the vain hope of life, to sign a paper, in which he declared his conviction of his inability to govern the empire, and his sense of the distress it must be involved in were he to continue at the head of affairs; declaring, before God, that his abdication was not the effect of compulsion, but of the sense he had of his own unworthiness. This cowardly sacrifice of his character did not preserve his life: he expired a few days after, on the 6th of July; and his sudden death, which was said to be the effect of an hemorrhoidal cholic, excited neither surprise nor speculation, as dethroned princes have seldom been allowed to languish long in the glooms of a dungeon.

Catherine the Second, who now assumed the reins of empire, pursued a line of conduct almost diametrically opposite to that of her infatuated husband. Though a foreigner herself, she wisely dismissed all foreigners from her confidence and service: she sent away the Holstein guards; and, in their stead, chose Russians, whose ancient uniform was revived with new lustre, the Empress herself frequently appearing in it: she restored to the clergy their revenues and the privilege of wearing beards: she conferred all the great offices of state on native Russians; and entirely threw herself on the affections of that people to whom she owed her elevation. It was even supposed, that, in compliance with their prejudices, she would disclaim and annul the treaty concluded between the late Czar and the King of Prussia, which was a very unpopular measure at Petersburg. But, fortunately for Frederick, the new Empress did not think her situation sufficiently secure to engage in foreign hostilities. It is

also said, that upon searching among her husband's papers for the Prussian monarch's correspondence, she found that his Majesty had disapproved of all Peter's violent measures, and had counselled him to be tender of his consort, to desist from his pretensions to Sleswick, and not to attempt any changes in the religion or the fundamental laws of his country. Letters of this kind must have tended very much to confirm her in her pacific disposition. She accordingly declared to the Prussian minister at her court, "that she was resolved to observe inviolably, in all points, the perpetual peace concluded under the preceding reign; but that she had thought proper, nevertheless, to order back to Russia, by the nearest roads, all her troops in Silesia, Prussia, and Pomerania." And although this change from a strict alliance to a mere neutrality made no small difference in the state of the King of Prussia's affairs, yet it must be regarded, all things considered, as an escape scarcely less wonderful than the former, especially as all the important places which the Russians had with so much bloodshed acquired, were faithfully restored to that monarch.

His Prussian Majesty, instead of being discouraged by the order sent for the return of the Russians, only acted with the more vigour. He attacked Marshal Daun the day after its arrival, but before the news had reached the Austrian camp, and drove him, by terror, no less than force of arms, from the heights of Buckersdorf, with considerable loss. He next invested Schweidnitz in person, and obliged that much contested town, though defended by a garrison of 9000 men, to surrender, after a siege of two months, in spite of the utmost efforts of Laudohn and Daun to obstruct his operations. The moment he found himself master of this city, and eventually of all Silesia, he turned his eye towards Saxony.

He reinforced his brother's army in that electorate, and took some other steps, which seemed to indicate a design upon Dresden. These preparations, and another victory obtained by Prince Henry near Freyberg, far more decisive than the former, induced the court of Vienna to conclude a cessation of hostilities with his Prussian Majesty for Saxony and Silesia. In consequence of this impolitic and partial truce, which provided neither for the safety of the dominions of the house of Austria, nor of those members of the empire that were attached to its interests, one body of the Prussian army broke into Bohemia, advanced nearly to the gates of Prague, and destroyed a valuable magazine; while another fell upon the same country in a different quarter, and laid the greater part of the town of Egra in ashes, by a shower of bombs and red-hot bullets. Some parties penetrated into the heart of Franconia, and even as far as Suabia. The money levied in these predatory expeditions is supposed to have amounted to 1,000,000*l.* sterling, 200,000*l.* of which were paid by the industrious and free city of Nuremberg. Many of the princes and states found themselves obliged to sign a neutrality, in order to save their territories from farther ravages; and most others were disabled by the late defeat in Saxony, or exhausted by the subsequent incursions.

The other part of the German war, which rested wholly on the support of Great Britain, was pushed with a degree of spirit and perseverance by no means inferior to the exertions of Prussia. The forces under Prince Ferdinand being amply provided with necessaries, and recruited to the number of 100,000 effective men, were the first to take the field, and soon found an opportunity of striking a blow, the consequences of which were not recovered by the enemy during the remainder of the campaign. The French armies had also been augmented, so as still

to preserve their former superiority of numbers; but their generals were changed. Marshal Broglio was recalled, and the command of the army on the Weser was given to the Prince of Soubise, assisted by Marshal d'Etrees; while the army on the Lower Rhine was committed to the direction of the Prince of Conde. The hereditary Prince was posted, with a strong detachment, in the bishopric of Munster, to check the progress of the latter; and Prince Ferdinand, in person, with the main body of his forces, lay behind the Dymel, to make head against the former, and, if possible, to strip them of their conquests in Hesse. Their numbers, and the strength of their position, seemed equally discouraging to such an attempt Their infantry consisted of 100 battalions: that of the allies was composed but of sixty. The ground on which the French were encamped, near the village of Graebenstein, on the frontiers of Hesse, had been very judiciously chosen, both for command of the country, and the difficulty of approaching them. Their centre occupied an advantageous eminence: their left wing was almost inaccessible, owing to several deep ravines; and their right was covered by the adjoining village, by several rivulets, and a large detachment under one of their best officers, M. Castries. In such a situation they imagined they had nothing to fear, particularly as a considerable corps of the allied army, under General Luckner, was employed at some distance in watching the motions of Prince Xavier of Saxony. Prince Ferdinand availed himself of their security. He sent proper instructions to Luckner, who, leaving a party of Hessian hussars behind him to amuse the Prince of Saxony, and marching full speed in the night with the rest, crossed the Weser, turned the right of the French army, and, undiscovered, placed himself upon their rear. General Sporken had orders to advance in

another direction, and to charge the same wing in flank. Prince Ferdinand was to fall upon the centre; while the honour and danger of attacking their left wing were consigned to the Marquis of Granby. The necessary preparations were made with so much judgment, celerity, and order, that the French had no intimation of the design before they found themselves attacked with the utmost impetuosity in front, flank, and rear. The right wing, under Castries, retired in tolerable order; but the rest of the army must have been totally routed, if Monsieur Stainville, who commanded on the left, had not thrown himself, with the flower of the French infantry, into a wood, which enabled him, for some time, to stop the career of the victors. His brave corps was a devoted sacrifice. All but two battalions were taken or cut to pieces. The other bodies, covered by this resolute manœuvre, escaped to the other side of the Fulda, or took shelter under the cannon of Cassel. About 3000 were made prisoners, and, among them, almost 200 officers. The loss of the allies was inconsiderable. The English, who were most engaged, had only a few men killed, and no officer of rank but Lieutenant-colonel Townshend, who fell in this action, which took place on the 24th of June.

Whilst the French, under their late disaster, were unable to provide against sudden accidents, the Marquis of Granby and Lord Frederick Cavendish, at the head of a large body of British and Hanoverian troops, appeared thirty miles behind them, with an intention to cut off their communication with Frankfort, whence they drew all their subsistence. In this emergency, Rochambeau collected some brigades at Homburg, to oppose the design of the English commanders; but his party was dispersed, and almost all the important posts in the south of Hesse fell into the hands of the allies.

To the north they were equally successful. They obliged Prince Xavier, with his Saxon troops, to abandon his advanced situation in Hanover, and to leave the French garrison at Gottingen without support. The forces there, despairing of their ability to defend it, soon evacuated the place. Some other advantages were gained near Munden, where 1100 of the enemy were made prisoners, the intrenchments of their left wing were seized, and the works destroyed. Thus harassed on every side, they called the army of the Lower Rhine to their assistance. Being resolved not to hazard an engagement before its arrival, they quitted the heights of Mulsingen, though a post of the utmost strength and consequence, fell back behind the Fulda, and left Cassel uncovered; but, in their retreat, they threw into it a garrison of 10,000 men, to resist any attempts that might be made by Prince Ferdinand. He began the siege, however, without loss of time; nor did he relinquish that object, notwithstanding the defeat of the hereditary Prince by the Prince of Conde at Johannisberg, in which the former lost above 3000 men, and was himself dangerously wounded. After a variety of subsequent efforts, on the part of the united French armies, to relieve Cassel, they were at length forced to abandon it to its fate; and the garrison surrendered on the 1st of November to the victorious arms of the allies, who closed, with this exploit, the career of their military operations.

The events of this campaign in Germany, though distinguished for their brilliancy and magnitude, were not of so much real importance to Great Britain as those which took place at the same time in the south of Europe. One of the first schemes projected by the courts of Versailles and Madrid, after their avowed junction, was an attack upon the kingdom of Portugal, by means of which they hoped at least

to involve England in a new land war, and to divert her strength and attention from distant conquests or naval enterprises. As the Portuguese had, in reality, given provocation to no one, war was totally unexpected, and they were, consequently, altogether unprepared to oppose an enemy. Their army had been suffered to moulder away, and the part of it that remained was without discipline, and without officers. Their fortresses on the frontiers were also none of them in a condition to sustain a regular siege. The marine was not on a more respectable footing: six or seven ships of the line, and a few frigates, composed all the naval force fit for service. To complete this picture of their national weakness, it must be added, that the kingdom was not yet recovered from an earthquake which had laid the capital in ruins, and from a civil convulsion, in which persons of the first rank in Portugal had suffered for an attempt on the King's life. The throne was endangered by the very means taken to secure it. The number of executions served only to increase the disgust of the nobility, many of whom were the friends or relations of the unhappy sufferers. The expulsion of the Jesuits was also resented by the Pope, in whose opinions the rest of the clergy were too ready to concur; and the body of the people, enslaved by the most abject superstition, made light of their allegiance to a sovereign at enmity with the Holy See.

Such was the state of the kingdom of Portugal when the Spanish forces marched towards its frontiers, and the ministers of France and Spain presented to the court of Lisbon a joint memorial, in order to persuade his most faithful Majesty to enter into the alliance of the two crowns, and to co-operate in their scheme for the humiliation of Great Britain. In that memorial they insisted largely on the tyranny exercised by England over all other powers,

especially in maritime affairs, and which the Kings of Spain and Portugal were equally commanded, by the ties of blood and their common interest, to oppose. They concluded with declaring, that as soon as his most faithful Majesty had taken his resolution, which they doubted not would prove favourable, their troops were ready to enter Portugal, and garrison the fortresses of that kingdom, in order to avert the danger to which it might otherwise be exposed from the naval force of Great Britain. To this extraordinary memorial, which was presented on the 16th of March, the two ministers added, that they were ordered by their courts to demand a categorical answer in four days, and that any farther deliberation would be considered as a negative.

The King of Portugal's situation was now truly critical. If, contrary to the established connexions of his crown, to its supposed interests, and in violation of the faith of treaties, he should engage in this proffered alliance, he must expect to see his most valuable settlements, Brazil and Goa, fall a prey to his ancient and injured ally; and Lisbon and Oporto, his chief cities, laid in ashes by the thunder of the English navy. Nor was this the worst. Having admitted garrisons into his principal places of strength, the implied condition of his accession to the Bourbon confederacy, he must necessarily lay his account with being reduced to the abject state of a vassal of Spain. If, on the other hand, he should adhere to his engagements, and resolve to maintain his honour and independency, an army of 60,000 Spaniards was ready to enter his kingdom, and reduce it to the condition of a conquered province. His most faithful Majesty's firmness, on so trying an occasion, is worthy of applause. In answer to the insulting proposition of the house of Bourbon, he observed, with judgment and temper, that his alliance with England was ancient, and

consequently could give no reasonable offence at the present crisis: that it was purely defensive, and therefore innocent in all respects: that the late sufferings of Portugal disabled her, were she even willing, from taking part in an offensive war, into the calamities of which neither the love he bore to his subjects as a father, nor the duty by which he was bound to them as a king, would suffer him to plunge them. The Bourbon courts denied that this alliance was purely defensive, or entirely innocent; and for this astonishing reason, that the defensive alliance is converted into an offensive one "from the situation of the Portuguese dominions, and the nature of the English power." The English fleets, said they, cannot keep the sea in all seasons, nor cruise on the coasts best calculated for cutting off the French and Spanish navigation, without the harbours and the friendly assistance of Portugal: "nor," added they, "could those haughty islanders insult all the maritime powers of Europe, if the riches of Portugal did not pass into their hands." They also endeavoured to awaken the jealousy of his most faithful Majesty, by representing his kingdom as under the yoke of England; and told him that he ought to be thankful for "the necessity which they had laid upon him to make use of his reason, in order to take the road of his glory, and embrace the common interest." Although the King was sensible that the necessity here alluded to was the immediate march of the Spanish army to take possession of his dominions, he was not intimidated. The treaties of league and commerce between Great Britain and Portugal were such, he maintained, as the laws of God, of nature, and of nations, have always deemed innocent. He entreated their most Christian and Catholic Majesties to consider that they were giving an example which would lead to the utter destruction of mankind;

that there was an end of public safety, if neutral powers were to be attacked, because they have entered into defensive alliances with powers at war; that if their troops should invade his dominions, he would, therefore, in vindication of his neutrality, endeavour to repel them with all his forces, and those of his allies. He concluded with declaring, "that it would affect him less, though reduced to the last extremity, of which the Supreme Judge was the sole arbiter, to let the last tile of his palace fall, and to see his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal held most dear, and to submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, who would no longer be able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war should be kindled between other powers, with whom the former were connected by defensive treaties." In consequence of this magnanimous declaration, the ministers of France and Spain immediately left Lisbon; and their departure was soon followed by a declaration of war.

From the account already given of the state of Portugal at this crisis, it is easy to conceive how unable she must have been of herself to resist so formidable a combination. Yet, strange as it may seem, her very distresses proved in some respects serviceable to her. The extreme barrenness of the country rendered it difficult for an army to subsist in it. The badness of the roads, and the frequency and steepness of the mountains, which occupy the greatest part of that kingdom, made a rapid progress impracticable, and facilitated the only defence which the armed peasantry, the chief force of the country, were qualified to make. The danger also from without appeared at once to put a stop to all internal feuds and jealousies; and people of every

rank were animated with such a sincere and inveterate hatred to the Spanish name, and were filled with so much terror at the prospect of falling a second time under their old tyrants, that great hopes were entertained of their exerting themselves to the utmost on this occasion, and of their rousing that martial spirit for which the nation had been formerly distinguished.

But the grand reliance of his most faithful Majesty was on the support of England. His ambassador at London explained to the ministry his master's alarming situation, and urged the justice of his claims to the most immediate and effectual relief. Besides a formal demand of the succours stipulated by subsisting treaties, he expressed a desire that his master should be supplied with a number of able officers to command, train, and conduct the forces of Portugal, which had been long disused to war; and that his Britannic Majesty would continue to favour him with such farther help as his pressing necessities might require. The greater the weakness of Portugal was, the more conspicuous were the magnanimity and resources of Great Britain, who alone seemed to balance all Europe, and was able, in the close of an expensive war, to prop up, by her generous support, the tottering fortune of so feeble an ally. She sent to Portugal officers, troops, artillery, arms, military stores, provisions, money, every thing which could enable the Portuguese to exert their natural strength, and every thing which could supply that strength where it was deficient. Before the actual commencement of hostilities, Lord Tyrawley, a nobleman of great military talents and experience, and who had formerly resided as ambassador at Lisbon, was sent thither as plenipotentiary, with instructions to examine the state of the Portuguese forces, and to assist the ministry of that kingdom with his best

advice in forming their army, and in making proper dispositions for the defence of their frontiers. He was also to have the command of the British auxiliaries, consisting of about 8000 troops, partly drawn from Belleisle, and partly from Ireland, where two regiments of Roman Catholics had been raised for this service. But his lordship, though in other respects very highly accomplished both as a general and statesman, was rather proud and impetuous. He took offence at the conduct of the King of Portugal's ministers, at the want of vigour in their councils, and at their unwillingness to adopt any of his spirited suggestions. In the dispatches he sent home, his lordship complained, that they had misrepresented the state of their forces to the court of Great Britain; that they had not taken any proper steps to secure their frontier places; that they amused him with general promises, and evasive answers, and started frivolous objections to the measures which he proposed for the operations of the war. He even charged them with want of sincerity, and hinted a suspicion that the rupture between Portugal and Spain was a mere collusion, to make a diversion of British troops and treasure in favour of the latter. As these suspicions were evidently unfounded, his lordship was recalled, very early in the campaign, from a situation where he could be no longer useful. There was, however, some reluctance on the part of the people of Portugal, who were bigoted to the Catholic faith, to receive aid from heretics, by whom they scarcely thought it possible that they could be effectually defended.

When the Bourbon courts made war against Portugal, the declared object was to cut off Great Britain from the use of the ports of that kingdom. They accordingly aimed their principal endeavours at the two great ports to which the English princi-

pally resort, Oporto and Lisbon, and three inroads were proposed to be made, one to the north, another more to the south, and the third in the middle provinces, to preserve a communication between the two former. The first army that entered upon the execution of this plan was commanded by the Marquis de Sarria. It penetrated into the north-east angle of Portugal, and advanced towards Miranda. This town, though not in a good state of defence, might have held out for some time: but a powder magazine having blown up by accident, the fortifications were ruined; and the Spaniards, before they had raised their first battery, marched into the town by the breaches in the wall. They met with still less opposition at Braganza, a considerable city, from which the royal family of Portugal derives its ducal titles. The garrison retired with precipitation at their approach, and the magistrates presented the keys of the town to the Spanish commander. The town of Moncorvo surrendered in the same manner to one of their detachments; and every thing was cleared before them to the banks of the Douro. A party under Count O'Reilly made a forced march of fourteen leagues, in two days, to the city of Chaves, which was immediately evacuated. By these successes they became masters of almost the whole of the extensive province of Tralos Montes, and their progress spread a general alarm. Oporto was almost given up as lost; and the Admiralty of England prepared transports to carry off the effects of the British factory. However, the body, which had traversed this province without resistance, was repulsed in attempting to cross the river Douro. The inhabitants of the country, animated and guided by some English officers, with a reinforcement of regular troops, seized a difficult pass, and drove the enemy back to Torre de Moncorvo. In ravaging the open

country, the Spanish soldiers committed some barbarities on the peasants; which were afterwards severely retaliated. The common people on both sides, naturally ferocious, had not been sufficiently inured to war, to moderate its fury, and reduce it under laws: an inveterate enmity subsisted between them; and, in every encounter, the victorious party attended only to the dictates of rancour and revenge.

Another corps of Spanish troops, which took the central route, in order, as before intimated, to keep up an easy communication between the forces employed in the northern and southern expeditions, entered the province of Beira, at the villages called Val de la Mula and Val de Coelha. They were joined by strong detachments, amounting to almost the whole army in Tralos Montes, and immediately laid siege to Almeida, the strongest and best provided place on the frontiers of Portugal, which was of the greatest importance from its middle situation, as the possession of it would greatly facilitate the operations upon every side, and would especially tend to forward an attempt upon Lisbon, towards which, at this time, all the endeavours of the Spaniards seem to have been directed. The trenches were opened on the 25th of July: next day the besiegers were reinforced by 8000 French auxiliaries; and, on the 25th of August, the garrison capitulated, after having made a much longer and more resolute defence than was at first expected. This conquest left all the adjoining country at the mercy of the invaders. They spread themselves over the whole territory of Castel Branco, a principal district of the province of Beira, making their way to the southward, until they approached the banks of the Tagus.

This rapid career of the Spaniards, was not, however, of long continuance. Lord Tyrawley's

disputes with the Portuguese ministry had hitherto prevented the allies from acting in perfect harmony and concert against the enemy. But after his recal, and the arrival from Germany of a very celebrated officer, who was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces, the affairs of the country began quickly to assume a different appearance. This officer was the Count de la Lippe Buckeburg, who had commanded the artillery of the British army in Westphalia during the whole course of the war, and who had given the most unequivocal proofs of his valour and capacity. He was accompanied by one of the Princes of Mecklenburg Strelitz, brother to the Queen of Great Britain, who resolved to make this campaign in Portugal. He also found at the head of the British troops some generals well qualified to assist him both in the council and in the field. Lord Tyrawley had left behind him his second in command, the Earl of Loudon, a man of great experience and sagacity. The next post was filled by Lieutenant-general Townshend, who had served with high reputation in America; and the subordinates were Lord George Lennox, with the Brigadier-generals Crawford and Burgoyne, all of them officers of merit. As the Count de la Lippe was an entire stranger to all the subjects of debate which had existed between the late British commander and the court of Lisbon, more unanimity was now likely to prevail: the spirits of the whole nation began to revive; and the hopes then formed of more successful exertions were fully justified by the event.

The third body of Spanish troops, destined for the southern inroad into Portugal, assembled on the frontiers of Estremadura, with an intention of penetrating into the province of Alentejo. Had this corps been joined to the others already in Portugal, it would probably have formed such an army as

might have forced its way to Lisbon: had it acted separately, it might have distracted the defence, so as to enable some other corps to penetrate to that city. It was necessary to prevent, if possible, their entrance into Portugal; since their mere entrance would have been almost equal to a victory on their side. The Count de la Lippe, therefore, formed a design of attacking an advanced party of them in a town on the frontiers, called Valencia d'Alcantara, where he heard they had amassed considerable magazines. The conduct of this enterprise was committed to Brigadier-general Burgoyne. This active and judicious officer, though at a distance of five days' march, and in spite of all the disappointments and obstructions to which services of this kind are so liable, when they cannot be executed immediately, effected a complete surprise of the enemy on the morning of the 27th of August. He hoped to have reached the place the night before, and had made the disposition for attack accordingly. But finding himself overtaken by day-light, he altered his plan, and advancing with his own dragoons, and a small party of irregular cavalry in full gallop, he entered the town of Valencia sword in hand; dispersed the guards that were in the great square; and secured the entrances into it with very little difficulty. The rest of his forces, consisting of British and Portuguese grenadiers, with some infantry, and a few armed peasants, soon came up to his support. As the grenadiers marched through the streets, several muskets were discharged at them from the windows; but the brigadier soon put a stop to those cowardly efforts, by declaring that he would set fire to the town if they did not desist. The Spanish general who was to have commanded in the intended invasion, and his aid-de-camp, with other prisoners, horses, arms, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the victor, who brought away hostages for the

care of the wounded, and the payment of the King's revenue for one year, as a consideration for having spared the town and convents. This important service was performed with very little loss on the part of the British troops, whilst one of the best regiments in the Spanish service was totally destroyed. Although the information which the Count de la Lippe had received about the magazines proved to be groundless, the other advantages resulting from the enterprise made ample amends for that disappointment. The taking of the Spanish general disconcerted the plan which he was then on the point of carrying into execution; for, at the very moment of his being made prisoner, he was actually employed in reconnoitering the entrance into the province of Alentejo, where he proposed to march in a few days. This seemed to have been for some time the destination not only of the troops under the captured general's command, but also the great object of the Spanish army which had hitherto acted in Beira.

That part of the Bourbon army which acted in the territory of Castel Branco, had made themselves masters of several important passes, which they obliged the Portuguese to abandon. They attacked the rear of the combined army, which was passing the river Alveito with the appearance of a retreat; but, in reality, with a view to draw them insensibly into the mountainous tracts. Here they were repulsed with loss; but still they continued masters of the country; and nothing remained, but the passage of the Tagus, to enable them to take up their quarters in Alentejo. General Burgoyne, who was posted with an intention to obstruct them in their passage, lay in the neighbourhood, and within view of a detached camp, composed of a considerable body of their cavalry, near a village called Villa Velha. As he observed that the enemy

kept no very soldierly guard in this post, and were uncovered in their rear and flanks, he conceived a design of falling on them by surprise, which he confided to Colonel Lee, who turned their camp, fell upon their rear in the night of the 6th of October, made a considerable slaughter, dispersed the whole party, destroyed their magazines, and returned with scarcely any loss. Burgoyne, in the mean time, supported him by a feint attack in another quarter, which prevented the enemy's being relieved from the adjacent posts. This advantage, being obtained in a critical moment, was attended with important consequences. The season was now far advanced, and the roads became impassable through heavy rains, so that the enemies, destitute of strong posts, and of magazines for the subsistence of their horse, retreated to the frontiers of their own country, where their supplies were at hand, and where they were not liable to be harassed by the efforts of the combined army. Thus was Portugal saved by the wise conduct of the Count de la Lippe, and the distinguished valour of the English commanders and soldiery; and thus did the insolent menaces of the Bourbon confederacy terminate in their own disappointment and confusion. There never was, probably, so heavy a storm of national calamity, ready to fall upon an unprovided people, so happily averted, or so speedily blown over. Every thing, at the beginning of this campaign, bore the most lowering and ominous aspect to the affairs of Great Britain. As it advanced, the sky continually cleared up; and the fortune of no nation, towards the close of it, was enlivened with a more brilliant and unclouded prosperity.

But it was at sea, the favourite element of Britain, that the success of her arms was most conspicuous. In vain had her enemies endeavoured to

draw off her attention from maritime enterprises, and to employ her chief strength in continental wars: she found means to baffle their most vigorous efforts, both in Germany and Portugal; while her glorious exertions by land, in the defence of her friends and allies, did not divert her from giving the fullest scope to her naval power, in the enlargement of her commerce and her conquests. The French West India islands were the first objects of attack; and the failure of the armament sent out against Martinico, in the year 1759, under Mr. Pitt's administration, did not discourage his successors in office from making another attempt. The preparations made for this purpose have been already explained. The squadron which sailed from England in October, 1761, with four battalions draughted from the garrison of Belleisle, having been reinforced at Barbadoes by eleven battalions from New York, and some regiments from the Leeward islands, proceeded, with the fleet already on that station, towards Martinico, on the 5th of January. The whole armament consisted of about 10,000 land forces, commanded by General Monckton, and eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fireships, and bomb-ketches, under the direction of Rear-admiral Rodney. They came within sight of Martinico on the 7th of January. On anchoring in St. Anne's Bay, the Raisonnable man of war was lost by the unskilfulness of the pilot: the men were saved, with her stores and artillery. This place being judged improper for a debarkation, the troops landed at the bay of Petite Anse, and at a creek called Cas des Navires, on the 16th, without the loss of a man, the ships having been disposed so properly, and having directed their fire with such effect, that the enemy was obliged in a short time to abandon the batteries.

After their landing, every step was attended with

the utmost difficulty and danger; for though the French regulars were formidable neither for number nor quality, their deficiency was supplied by the militia, which was well armed, well disciplined, and excellently qualified for service in the only kind of war that could be carried on in the country. Besides, the whole island, which is mountainous and unequal, is intersected with ravines and rivulets, so as greatly to impede the progress of an army, particularly with regard to its artillery. These obstructions were no where greater than in the neighbourhood of Fort Royal, against which the first regular attack was proposed. This town is commanded by two considerable eminences, called Morne Tortenson and Morne Garnier, the natural strength of which was improved by every contrivance of art. The former was first to be reduced. A body of regulars and marines, supported by 1000 sailors in flat-bottomed boats, advanced on the right, along the sea-shore, in order to force the redoubts which lay in the lower grounds. On the left, towards the country, a detachment of light infantry, with a proper reserve behind them, was to turn the enemy's flank; whilst the attack in the centre was made by the British grenadiers and the remainder of the army, under the fire of batteries erected, with great labour, on the opposite heights. The judgment displayed by the commander, in making these dispositions for the attack, could only be equalled by the spirit and resolution of the troops. With irresistible impetuosity they successively carried the enemy's works in every quarter. They drove the French from post to post, till, after a sharp struggle, the British banners were fixed on the top of the hill. Some of the fugitives were pursued to the very gates of the town: others saved themselves on Morne Garnier, which, being much higher than Morne Tortenson, left the victorious

troops still exposed to great annoyance from the enemy, and three days elapsed before proper arrangements could be made for dislodging them. In the midst of these preparations, their whole force descended from the hill, sallied out of the town, and made a furious assault on the advanced posts; but they were immediately repulsed by the British troops, who, hurried on by their ardour, improved a defensive advantage into an attack, passed the ravines, mingled with the enemy, scaled the hill, seized the batteries, dispersed the militia, and drove the regulars into the town. All the situations which overlooked and commanded Fort Royal being now secured, the batteries against it were no sooner completed, than it surrendered, on the 4th of February; and, in three days after, Pigeon Island, which was deemed one of the best defences of the harbour, followed the example of the citadel. Fourteen French privateers were found there; and a much greater number, from other ports in the island, were afterwards delivered up to Admiral Rodney, in consequence of the favourable terms granted to the inhabitants. Still, however, St. Pierre, the capital, remained to be reduced; and it was apprehended that the resistance there might be considerable, if the spirit of the garrison corresponded with the strength of the fortifications, and with the natural advantages of the country. But the reduction of Fort Royal had greatly abated the enemy's confidence. The militia, in particular, despaired of making any effectual defence. The planters also were apprehensive of having their estates ruined by the continuance of hostilities, or perhaps of losing all by letting slip the opportunity of a favourable capitulation. Influenced by these motives, and disheartened by the train of misfortunes which had every where attended the French arms, they resolved to hold out no longer; and on the 12th of

February, just as General Monckton was ready to embark for the reduction of St. Pierre, he was prevented by the arrival of two deputies, who came to capitulate for the surrender of that place, and of the whole island.

The conquest of Martinico, which was the seat of the superior government, the principal mart of trade, and the centre of the French force in the Caribbees, naturally drew after it the submission of all the dependant islands. Grenada, though, from the nature of its situation, it might have made a vigorous defence, surrendered without opposition. The British troops found as little difficulty in taking possession of St. Lucia, Tobago, and St. Vincent, the right to which had so long been an object of dispute between the two nations. The Grenadines, and the other little isles, which are scattered up and down in the same seas, were incapable of making any resistance; and it is also probable, that if they had been places of greater strength, the prosperity of Guadaloupe under the British government would have been a strong temptation to their easy surrender. St. Domingo was the only spot which the French still retained in the Archipelago of America; and the loss of that did not appear to be far distant. An object of more consequence diverted the storm to one of the most valuable possessions of the Spaniards in the West Indies.

Before the success of the expedition against Martinico was known in England, the ministry, confident that it could not have failed, had given orders for a considerable part of the forces employed there to re-embark, and to sail in a westerly direction to a certain latitude, where, in case of a rupture with Spain, they were to be joined by another armament, in order to make a descent upon the island of Cuba. The latter squadron left Portsmouth the 5th of March, and happily met the proposed division of the former

fleet, under Sir James Douglas, at Cape Nichola, the north-west point of Hispaniola, on the 27th of May. After this junction, their force amounted to 19 ships of the line, 18 small vessels of war, and near 150 transports, with about 10,000 troops on board: 4000 more were also expected from North America. Lord Albemarle, the friend and disciple of the Duke of Cumberland, had the command of the land forces: the marine was under Admiral Pococke, who having contributed, by his valour, towards that sovereignty which his country had obtained in the East Indies, was now chosen to extend its empire in the West. As the hurricane season was more to be dreaded than the resistance of the enemy, the utmost expedition was necessary. The admiral, therefore, instead of keeping to the south of Cuba, resolved to run along the northern shore of that island, through the old straits of Bahama, a much shorter but more dangerous passage, being very narrow, and bounded on both sides by sands and shoals, which render the navigation extremely hazardous. There was no pilot in the fleet whose experience could be depended on; the admiral, however, being provided with a good chart of Lord Anson's, was determined to make the experiment. So bold an attempt had never been made; but every precaution was taken to guard it from the imputation of temerity. A vessel was sent to reconnoitre the passage, which was then ordered to take the lead: some frigates followed: sloops and boats were stationed on the shallows to the right and left, with well-adapted signals both for the day and the night: the fleet moved in seven divisions; and being favoured with pleasant weather, they, without the smallest loss or interruption, got clear through this perilous passage, 700 miles in length, on the 5th of June, having entered it the 27th of May.

The Havannah was now before them. This place

is not denominated the capital of Cuba: St. Jago, situated at the south-east part of the island, has that title: but the Havannah, though the second in rank, is the first in wealth, size, and importance. The harbour, which is perhaps the best in the world, is sufficiently capacious to contain 1000 sail of the largest ships, having almost throughout six fathom water, and being perfectly covered from every wind. Here the rich fleets from the several parts of the Spanish settlements rendezvous before they finally set out on their voyage to Europe;—a circumstance which has rendered the Havannah one of the most opulent, flourishing, and populous cities in the western world. Suitable to its importance was the care with which it was fortified. The Moro, a very strong fort, having two bastions toward the sea, and two more on the land side, with a wide and deep ditch cut out of a rock, and another fort, called the Puntal, were well calculated for the defence of the harbour. Some batteries likewise opened upon the country, and flanked part of the town wall. But this wall, and the fortifications of the city itself, were not in very good condition. The wall and the bastions wanted repair; the ditch was dry, and of no considerable width; and the covered way was almost in ruins. It has therefore been thought, by some military men, that the operations ought to have been begun with the attack of the town by land; especially as it was utterly impracticable to attack it by sea, the entrance of the harbour being not only defended by the forts, but by fourteen Spanish ships of the line, three of which were afterwards sunk in the channel, and a boom laid across it. Lord Albemarle thought otherwise. He resolved to begin with the siege of the Moro, and he certainly had some plausible reasons for doing so. He knew that the reduction of that fort must infallibly be followed by the surrender of the city;

whereas, if he had attacked the town first, his army might have been so much weakened as to be unable to surmount the vigorous resistance of the fort, defended by the garrison, and by the flower of the inhabitants, zealous to save their own and the public treasure. On the other hand, if the town had been first attacked, the dry wall that covered it might not have held out four and twenty hours; the Spanish generals, the council, and the regency, who must thereby have fallen into his lordship's hands, would have readily capitulated for the Moro; and, at all events, he would have prevented the fort from receiving any assistance or provisions from the city during the siege.

But whatever errors may be pointed out in the conduct of the English commander, that of the Spaniards was deserving of much severer censure. Though apprized, above a month before, that war had commenced between the two nations, the British fleet was upon their coasts, and they had made no provision of balls of a proper size for their cannon, nor of cartridges; nor had they a single gun or firelock fit for immediate use. All was confusion and alarm. Common prudence would have suggested the propriety of keeping their fleet ready for action; and as they were not far from an equality, and could be of very little service in the port, they should have put out to sea, and hazarded the issue of an engagement. A battle maintained with spirit, though finally unsuccessful, might have so far disabled their opponents as to unfit them for any farther attempts, after a dear-bought naval victory. The loss of the whole Spanish fleet in this way might have saved the city; but, the city once taken, nothing could possibly save the fleet. Either through extreme cowardice or infatuation, the only use they made of their shipping was to sink three of them behind a strong boom at the mouth of the harbour.

When the British commanders had got every thing in readiness for landing, the admiral, with a great part of the fleet, bore away to the westward, and made a feint of disembarking the troops; while a detachment, protected by Commodore Keppel and Captain Harvey, approached the shore to the eastward, and landed there without opposition, a small fort having been previously silenced. On this side the principal army was destined to act. It was divided into two bodies; the one being immediately occupied in the attack on fort Moro, and the other in covering the siege, and in protecting the parties employed in procuring water and provisions. The former corps was commanded by Major-general Keppel, and the latter by Lieutenant-general Elliot. A detachment under Colonel Howe was encamped near the west side of the town, to cut off the communication with the country, and to keep the enemy's attention divided.

The hardships which the troops sustained in carrying on the siege are almost incredible. The earth was every where so thin, that it was with great difficulty they could cover themselves in their approaches. The want of water was also very distressing. They were obliged to fetch it from a great distance, as there was not any spring or river near them; and so scanty and precarious was the supply, procured with much labour, that they often found it necessary to have recourse to what the ships could afford. Roads of communication were to be cut through thick woods; and the artillery was to be dragged, for a vast way, over a rough rocky shore. In these painful efforts, under a burning sun, many of the men dropped down dead with heat, thirst, and fatigue. Every obstacle was at length surmounted by the most astonishing perseverance; and batteries, erected along a ridge on a level with the fort, were opened with great effect. The ships

in the harbour were driven farther back, so as not to be able to molest the besiegers ; and a sally made by the garrison was repulsed with great slaughter.

Whilst these works were vigorously pushed on shore, the navy, not contented with the great assistance which they had before lent to the land service, resolved to make an attempt more directly within their province. Accordingly on the 1st of July, the day that the batteries were opened, three of the largest ships, under Captain Harvey, laid their broadsides against the fort, and began a terrible fire, which lasted seven hours without intermission. The Moro returned it with great constancy, and being situated on a very high and steep rock, was proof against all efforts, whilst the guns from the opposite fort of Puntal, and from the town, galled them so much, that, to save the ships from absolute destruction, they were at length obliged, unwillingly, to bring them off. Even this retreat was not effected without difficulty, as they were very much shattered in so long and unequal a contest. But though no impression was made on the works which the ships attacked, the attempt was of considerable service. The attention of the defendants was so much engaged, that they neglected the other side of the fort, and allowed the fire of the English batteries to become superior. As soon, however, as the Spaniards were released from the ships of war, they revived their defence on the land side with great spirit. An unremitted cannonade was kept up by both parties for several days ; and the military skill and spirit of the assailants were put to the severest trial. In the midst of this sharp and doubtful contention, the capital battery against the fort took fire, and being chiefly constructed of timber and fascines, dried by intense heat, the flames soon became too powerful for opposition. The battery was almost wholly consumed. The labour of 600

men for seventeen days was destroyed in a few hours, and all was to begin anew. This stroke was the more severely felt, as it happened at a time when the other hardships of the siege were become almost intolerable. The diseases of the climate, increased by rigorous duty, had reduced the army to half its number; 5000 soldiers were at one time unfit for service, through various distempers; and 3000 sailors were in the same miserable condition. The want of necessaries and refreshments aggravated their sufferings, and retarded their recovery. The provisions were bad, and the necessity of bringing from a distance a scanty supply of water exhausted all their force. Besides, as the season advanced, the prospect of succeeding grew fainter. The hearts of the most sanguine sunk within them when they beheld this gallant army wasting away, and considered that the noble fleet, which had rode so long on an open shore, must be exposed to inevitable ruin, if the hurricane season should come on before the reduction of the place. A thousand languishing and impatient looks were cast out for the reinforcement which was expected from North America, but none appeared; and the few who still preserved some remains of strength were obliged to bear up, under the load of double duty, and of afflicting accidents. Another battery took fire before the former could be repaired, and the toil of the besiegers unfortunately increased in proportion as their strength was diminished. Many fell into despair, and died, overcome with fatigue, anguish, and disappointment. But however great the distresses, however small the numbers of those that were left, they made efforts which would not have disgraced the largest and best appointed army. The rich prize which lay before them, the shame of returning home baffled, and even the strenuous resistance of the enemy, engaged their interest, their

honour, their pride, and roused them to the exertion of every nerve. The batteries were replaced: their fire became equal, and soon superior, to that of the fort; they silenced its guns; they dismantled its upper works; and on the 20th of July they made a lodgment in the covered way. In gaining this grand advantage they were greatly assisted by the arrival, a few days before, of some merchantships that were bound from Jamaica to England. By these they were supplied with several conveniences for the siege, particularly with cotton bags, which were of the utmost service to the engineers, as they could not have otherwise carried on their approaches by sap, the soil being so very thin as not to afford sufficient earth to cover them. Not many days after, they received a considerable part of the reinforcement from America. Four of the transports had been wrecked in the straits of Bahama; but the men were saved on the adjacent islands, and brought off by five sloops, which the admiral detached on this service. He received information, at the same time, that five other transports, having about 500 soldiers on board, had been taken by a French squadron. All the rest of the troops arrived in perfect health. These favourable events gave fresh vigour to the operations of the siege: but a sudden difficulty appeared just at the seeming accomplishment of the work. An immense ditch, cut in the solid rock, eighty feet deep, and forty wide, yawned before them, and stopped their progress. To fill it up appeared impossible. Difficult as the work of mining was in those circumstances, it was the only expedient. It might have proved impracticable, had not a thin ridge of rock been fortunately left, to cover the ditch towards the sea. On this narrow ridge, the miners, though quite exposed, passed the gulf with very little loss, and buried themselves in the wall.

It now became visible to the Governor of the Havannah that the Moro must be speedily reduced, if left to its own strength ; he therefore resolved to attempt something for its relief. Accordingly, on the 22d of July, before break of day, a body of 1200 men, chiefly militia, mulattoes, and negroes, were transported across the harbour, climbed the hills, and made three different attacks on the English posts. The ordinary guards, though surprised, defended themselves so resolutely, that the Spaniards made little impression, and were not able to ruin any part of the approaches. The attacked posts were speedily reinforced ; and the enemy, who were little better than a disorderly rabble, were driven precipitately down the hill with great slaughter : some gained their boats ; others were drowned ; and they lost in this well imagined, but ill executed sally, upwards of 400 men. This was the last effort for the relief of the Moro ; which, abandoned as it was by the city, and while an enemy was undermining its walls, held out with a sullen resolution, and made no proposal to capitulate. At length, on the 30th of July, a part of the wall was blown up, and fell into the ditch, leaving a breach, which, though narrow and difficult, was judged practicable. The troops ordered on this most dangerous service rejoiced at the prospect of terminating their dreadful toils. They cheerfully prepared for the assault, and mounting the breach, under the command of Lieutenant Forbes, supported by Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, they entered the fort with so much order and intrepidity, as entirely disconcerted the garrison. Four hundred of the Spaniards were cut in pieces, or perished in attempting to escape ; the rest threw down their arms, and received quarter. The Marquis de Gonsalez, the second in command, was killed in making brave, but ineffectual efforts, to stop the flight of his countrymen ; and Don

Lewis de Velasco, the governor, having collected a small body of resolute soldiers in an intrenchment round the flag-staff, gloriously fell in defending his colours, which nothing could induce him to strike. The English had but two lieutenants and twelve men killed; and one lieutenant, with four sergeants, and twenty-four privates wounded.

No sooner did the Spaniards in the town and in fort Puntal see the besiegers in possession of the Moro, than they directed all their fire against that place. Meanwhile the British troops, encouraged by their success, were vigorously employed in remounting the guns of the captured fort, and in erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the city. These batteries being completed, and sixty pieces of cannon ready to play upon the Havannah, Lord Albemarle, willing to prevent an unnecessary carnage, sent his aid-de-camp, on the 10th of August, with a flag of truce, to summon the governor to surrender, and make him sensible of the unavoidable destruction that was ready to fall upon the place. The governor replied, that he would hold out to the last extremity. But he was soon brought to reason. The very next morning, the batteries were opened against him with such effect, that in six hours all his guns were silenced: flags of truce were hung out in every quarter of the town; and a deputy was sent to the camp of the besiegers, in order to settle the terms of capitulation. A cessation of hostilities immediately took place; and, as soon as the terms were adjusted, the city of Havannah, and a district of 180 miles to the westward included in its government, the Puntal castle, and the ships in the harbour, were surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. The Spaniards struggled a long time to save the men of war, and to have the harbour declared neutral; but, after two days' altercation, they were obliged to give up

those points as wholly inadmissible. The garrison were allowed the honours of war, and were to be conveyed to Spain. Private property was secured to the inhabitants, with the enjoyment of their former laws and religion. Without violating this article, which rendered the property of individuals sacred, the conquerors, who took possession of the city on the 14th of August, found a booty there, computed at near 3,000,000*l.* sterling, in silver and valuable merchandize belonging to the Catholic King, besides an immense quantity of arms, artillery, and military stores.

This was the most considerable, and in its consequences the most decisive blow which had been struck since the beginning of the war. It united in itself all the honours and advantages that can be acquired in hostile enterprises. It was a military triumph, that reflected the brightest lustre on the courage, steadiness, and perseverance of the British troops. Its effect on the enemy's marine made it equal to the greatest naval victory. Nine ships of the line and four frigates were taken: three of the former description had been sunk by the Spaniards, as already mentioned, at the beginning of the siege, to stop up the entrance into the port; and two more, that were in forwardness on the stocks, were destroyed by the conquerors. The harbour itself was of still greater value than the fleet. It absolutely commanded the only passage by which the Spanish ships could sail from the bay of Mexico to Europe; so that the court of Madrid could no longer receive any supplies from the West Indies, except by such routes as were equally tedious and uncertain. The reduction of the Havannah, therefore, not only distressed the enemy by stopping the sources of their wealth, but likewise opened to the English an easy avenue to the centre of their American treasures. The plunder found at this place

should also be taken into the account: it impoverished Spain, and enriched the captors; and though it contributed nothing directly to the public service, it might be said to increase the stock of the British nation, and to supply those prodigious drains of specie, foreign subsidies, and foreign armies.

The capture of the Spanish register ship, the Hermione, which happened in the latter end of May, just as she was on the point of entering one of the ports of Old Spain, must be added to these resources. She was loaded with treasure and valuable effects, estimated at 1,000,000*l.* sterling, which was considerably more than had ever before been taken in any one bottom. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England; and the gold and silver, being conveyed in covered waggons to London, was carried to the Tower with great parade. The waggons entered St. James's Street in the morning of the 12th of August, just after her Majesty had been safely delivered of her first son, the Prince of Wales; and the King, with many of the nobility, who were present, went to the windows over the palace-gate to see the procession, and joined their acclamations to those of the populace on two such joyful occasions.

But these losses, though immense, were not the only ones in which Spain was involved by her junction with France. She soon received another wound in a remote quarter, where she little expected so sudden an attack. The plan for invading the Philippine islands, which Colonel Draper had laid before the ministry upon the first rumour of a war with Spain, was now carried into execution. No man was better qualified by military talents, and the most accurate local knowledge, to give it effect than the colonel himself. After the memorable defence of Madras in 1759, his bad state of health had obliged him to leave that country. He

embarked, in company with the Hon. Captain Howe, then commander of the Winchelsea, for Canton in China, a city with which the inhabitants of Manilla, a principal port of the Philippines, carry on a considerable trade. He there discovered that the Spaniards in those islands, trusting to their remote distance from Europe, supposed any design against them impracticable, and were, by that fatal security which is always the consequence of an ill-founded confidence, lulled into a total inattention to a regular military strength. The colonel's memorial on this subject was clear and satisfactory; and the motives for encouraging the enterprise were very powerful. Besides the popular notions of wealth and plunder, the possession of Manilla would have made Great Britain mistress not only of the rest of the Philippine islands, but of the Spanish trade to China; and would have enabled her to cut off all farther communication between South America and the East Indies. On the other hand, the objections to the attempt were not inconsiderable. It was impossible to spare either ships or troops from England for the conquest, as the additional weight of Spain in the scale of France demanded the utmost exertions nearer home. The vast distance of the object, and the uncertainty of the time in which the expedition could be undertaken, were also no small difficulties; but they were soon obviated. Nothing was demanded but a light frigate to carry Colonel Draper to Madras, where he arrived in the latter end of June, with orders to employ such of the troops and squadron then in India as could be spared, to execute his important project. This plan seemed the more feasible, as no great force was thought necessary to be kept in the peninsula after the total expulsion of the French, and the humiliation of the Dutch in that quarter. Still, however, something

might be dreaded from the natives: and it would have been highly imprudent to weaken too much the defence of such valuable possessions, for the sake of any other uncertain object. The number of men, therefore, allotted for this enterprise was not considerable; but the spirit of the troops, and the celerity and judgment with which the preparations were made, compensated every deficiency. The 79th regiment, the only regular corps that could be spared, was, by reputation, by service, and by being long inured to the climate, almost equal to an army. A company of artillery, a body of marines, and some companies of seapoys were appointed to act with them. The whole force for the land operations amounted to 2300 men, commanded by Brigadier-general Draper, who had been appointed to that rank on his arrival: the naval force consisted of nine men of war and frigates, besides some store-ships, under the direction of Rear-admiral Cornish. In three weeks the preparations for forming this body, and getting ready all the stores, were begun, completed, and the whole shipped through a raging and perpetual surf, which, in those elimates, is one of the greatest difficulties in any expedition. Such uncommon dispatch was necessary on two accounts. The season was far advanced when the orders for the enterprise arrived; and, if the north-west monsoon should set in before the ships made any great progress on their voyage, the success of the whole would have been rendered extremely precarious. The other consideration, which demanded all possible haste, was, that the English army might come to its destination, before the news of the rupture between England and Spain could reach the Manillas, and, by rousing the Spaniards from their ill-grounded security, give them time to put themselves in the best posture of defence. The judgment with which every arrangement was made equalled the

celerity of the preparations. A ship of force was dispatched before the fleet through the straits of Malacca, to watch the entrance of the Chinese sea, and to intercept whatever vessels might be bound to Manilla, or sent from the neighbouring settlements, to give the Spaniards notice of the design. As it was necessary to take in water at Malacca, a division of the squadron, with a considerable part of the land forces, was sent off two days before the rest could be got ready, that no delay might happen to the fleet in procuring this necessary refreshment. Before their departure, every point was settled with respect to the conduct of the enterprise, that no dispute might arise in the course of their operations. The East India Company were to have a third of the booty or ransom : the government of the conquered country was also to be vested in them ; and the land and sea forces were, by mutual consent, to share between them the several captures, according to the rules established in the navy.

All things having been thus judiciously disposed, the last and grand division of the fleet set sail from Madras, the 1st of August. On the 19th of the same month, they arrived at Malacca, where having taken in refreshments, and other necessaries not already provided for a siege, they proceeded on their voyage, and in thirty-one days came in sight of the place of their destination. But notwithstanding all their efforts and dispatch, the shifting of the monsoon began now to display itself by very evident and alarming signs : the rain poured down in torrents ; the wind became boisterous ; and it was greatly to be feared, that, if the operations should be drawn into any length, the overflowing of the country would have made all approaches to the city of Manilla by land impracticable, whilst the tempestuous weather would have rendered the assistance of the squadron precarious in the siege,

and even its safety very doubtful. These considerations, together with the confusion of the enemy, who had received no intelligence of the breaking out of the war, determined the English commanders to make an immediate attack on the city itself, though it would have been otherwise desirable to have secured the fort and harbour of Cavite, which being only three leagues distant from Manilla, might afford an useful station for ships during the siege. In consequence of this resolution, proper dispositions were made for landing to the south of the town, on the 24th of September. The boats were ranged in three divisions, under the protection of the men of war. Frigates were ordered to the right and left, to cover their flanks by a brisk fire, and to disperse the enemy, who began to assemble in great numbers to oppose their descent. The coast was cleared by these measures; and the troops having gained the shore, a few days were unavoidably spent in seizing the most advantageous posts, in erecting batteries, in securing the communication with the navy, and in reconnoitering the roads and approaches to the town. They soon discovered that the plan of its fortifications, though regular, was not completed. The ditch, in several important parts, had never been finished: the covered way was out of repair: the glacis was too low: some of the outworks were not mounted with cannon; and the suburbs afforded shelter to the besiegers. The garrison consisted of 800 regular troops; and as the place was too extensive to be surrounded by the English army, its communication was open with the country, which poured in to its assistance 10,000 natives, a fierce and daring race, as remarkable for their hardiness and contempt of death, as most of the other Indians are for their cowardice and effeminacy. Had it been the interest of the Spaniards to have taught

them the use of arms, Manilla would have been impregnable. The governor, who was also the archbishop of the Philippine islands, united in his own person, by a policy not without precedent in the Spanish colonies, the civil power, the command of the forces, and the ecclesiastical dignity. But however unqualified by his priestly character for the defence of a city, he seemed not unfit for it by his intrepidity and resolution.

On the 26th of September, before batteries could be erected, the enemy attempted a sally with about 400 men, but were repulsed with great loss. The superior skill and bravery of the British troops appeared in so striking a light in this little engagement, that it was thought it might prove an inducement to the governor to aim at advantageous terms by an early surrender, but his answer to General Draper's summons was far more spirited than the late behaviour of his garrison, and it plainly appeared that he was determined to carry his resistance to the most desperate extremities. The operations against the town were therefore pushed on with unremitted vigour and diligence; and, after some batteries for cannon and mortars were raised, the firing and bombardment continued night and day. The Indians renewed their attacks from time to time; but they rather molested than obstructed the progress of the besiegers, and, by frequent acts of savage cruelty, provoked the most dreadful retaliation. The ships were placed as near the town as the depth of water would admit, and kept up a constant fire on the opposite side, which added not a little to the fatigue of the garrison, and to the confusion and terror of the inhabitants. Whilst the siege advanced in so successful a manner, by the perseverance and harmony of the land and sea forces, the elements threatened to destroy at once all the effects of their industry and courage On the 1st of October, a

deluge of rain poured down, accompanied by a violent storm of wind. The squadron was in the greatest danger, and all communication with it entirely cut off. A store-ship, which had lately arrived with the greatest part of the tools and necessaries absolutely requisite to complete the works, was driven on shore. The governor of the place added to the advantage of these appearances in his favour, by calling in the aid of his ecclesiastical character. To raise the spirits of the inhabitants, he gave out that an angel from the Lord was gone forth to destroy the English, like the host of Sennacherib. But the superstitious illusion was of short continuance. By an extraordinary species of good fortune, those menacing circumstances were attended with their particular advantages. The store-ship, by being driven on shore without any considerable damage, gave a ready access to all the military implements and provisions she contained, which could not otherwise have been supplied by boats in many days, as the wind continued to blow for a long time, and a furious surf broke high upon the beach. Besides, in the situation in which this vessel lay on shore, her cannon became, in a great degree, a protection to the English camp. The confidence, also, which the enemy reposed in the natural helps derived from the storm, and in those supernatural ones added by their credulity, rendered them more languid in their defence. Another advantage arose to the English from the storm: the roaring of the waves prevented the Spaniards from hearing the noise of the operations carrying on in the night. Thus every circumstance, though at first so alarming, became favourable to the attack; and the besiegers proceeded with so much constancy and resolution, that, in the midst of this violent tempest, and deluged as they were with the heavy tropical rains, they erected a large battery for heavy

cannon, and another for mortars; made good their parallels and communications; secured their most material posts; and put themselves in a condition, immediately on the ceasing of the storm, to batter the place in breach. In less than two days all the defences of the Spaniards were destroyed; and they had no resource left but in vigorous sallies.

As the garrison continued to receive fresh reinforcements of Indians from the interior of the country, they formed the plan of a double attack on two of the principal posts of the English, on the same morning. The first was made upon a cantonment of seamen, who had the chief management of the artillery, and against whom a successful blow would therefore have been almost decisive. The second was to be directed towards a church which lay near the sea, covered a flank of the army, and had been of great consequence for protecting the besiegers in their approaches, both against the enemy's fire and the inundation. About three hours before day on the 4th of October, 1000 Indians marched out upon the first enterprise. They were much encouraged by the incessant fall of rain, which they flattered themselves would have rendered fire-arms useless, while they had nothing to apprehend, as they fought with bows and lances. Their approach was favoured by a great number of thick bushes, that grew upon the side of a rivulet, which they passed in the night. By keeping close to them, they eluded the vigilance of the patroles, and fell unexpectedly upon the quarters of the seamen. But these brave fellows, though surprised, and unable, from the darkness, to discern any thing of the enemy but the impetuosity of the onset, maintained their ground with immoveable firmness till day-break, when a picquet of the 79th regiment came to their relief. A total rout and miserable havoc of the savages then took place. Yet it was astonishing to

see with what boldness and ferocity, naked as they were, they rushed on the very muzzles of the firelocks, redoubling their fury at every repulse, and, like wild beasts, gnawing even in death the bayonets of their enemies. Three hundred of them lay dead on the scene of action. Just as this attack had been defeated, the second was begun by another party of Indians, and a strong detachment of Spanish troops. Fortune, at first, seemed favourable to their hopes; for the seapoys, who defended the church, were easily driven from their post. The Spaniards then climbing up to the top, did great execution among the troops who lay behind it, and who never flinched, though quite exposed to their fire. After a warm contest, the English soldiers, having had some field-pieces brought to their assistance, dislodged the enemy, seventy of whom they killed, but not without some loss. These were the last efforts made for the defence of the city of Manilla. The greater part of the Indians, discouraged by frequent and bloody repulses, returned to their own habitations. The fire from the garrison grew faint; and that of the besiegers was so well directed, that the breach appeared practicable. In such circumstances it might have been expected, that the governor would have offered to capitulate, in order to save the lives and property of the inhabitants, or that the garrison would have attempted to repair the works, and made preparations to defend the breach, but they held out with a sort of sullenness, equally void of manly spirit, and of military skill. General Draper therefore took the most effectual means for carrying the place by assault. The troops having filed off from their quarters in small bodies, about four o'clock in the morning of the 6th of October, advanced to the breach, which they mounted with spirit and rapidity; drove the enemy from their works; and entered the place with little loss. An hundred

Spaniards and Indians, posted in a guard-house, refused to surrender, and were put to the sword. Three hundred more, who endeavoured to escape over a deep and rapid river, were drowned in the attempt. The governor retired into the citadel, but soon surrendered at discretion. Although the victors had a right to avail themselves of all the privileges of conquest, they admitted the inhabitants to a capitulation, by which they engaged to pay 4,000,000 of dollars, as a ransom, to save the town from a general pillage. It was stipulated, at the same time, that all the other fortified places in the island, and in all the islands dependant on its government, should also be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. The whole range of the Philippines fell with the city of Manilla.

During the siege, Admiral Cornish received intelligence, by the capture of an advice-ship, that the galleon Philippina, from Acapulco, was arrived at the straits which form the entrance into the archipelago of the Philippines, and the Panther man of war and Argo frigate were immediately dispatched in quest of her. They were out twenty-six days, when the Argo, in the evening of the 30th of October, discovered a sail which they supposed to be the same they looked for. Just as the two ships were approaching their object, the Panther was driven by a counter current among shallows, and obliged to cast anchor. The Argo escaped the danger, overtook the galleon, and began a hot engagement with her, which continued for two hours; but the frigate was so unequally matched and so roughly received by the Spaniard, that she was obliged to bring-to in order to repair her damage. In this pause of action the current slackened, and the Panther, by strenuous exertion, got under sail, with the galleon in sight, and about nine the next morning got up to her. It was not until she was battered for two hours, within

half musket-shot, that she struck. So obstinate a resistance, with little activity of opposition, surprised the English. In her first engagement with the Argo, this galleon mounted only six guns, though she was pierced for sixty. She had but thirteen in her engagement with the Panther. But she was a huge vessel, lying like a mountain in the water; and the Spaniards trusted entirely to the excessive thickness of her sides, not altogether without reason, for the shot made no impression upon any part, except her upper works. Another subject of surprise occurred after she struck. Instead of the American galleon, as was expected, returning with the treasures of Mexico to the Philippines, she proved to be the Santissima Trinidada, from Manilla, bound to Acapulco. She had proceeded a considerable way on her voyage, but, meeting with a hard gale of wind in the great South Sea, was dismasted, and obliged to put back to refit. Though the captors were disappointed in their hopes of a ship full of silver, their prize was of immense value, her cargo, in rich merchandize, being worth more than half a million.

Whilst the most spirited measures were taken to secure all the avenues of the Spanish trade in the East and West Indies, it was deemed expedient to encourage some private adventurers, in an attack upon the colony of Buenos Ayres, in South America, the conquest of which would afford great security to the Portuguese settlements, and prove, at the same time, an excellent station for farther enterprises against the dominions of Spain upon the South Seas. The Portuguese, therefore, being no less interested than the English in the issue of this undertaking, readily concurred to promote its success. The embarkation was made from the Tagus on the 30th of August, and the force consisted of three stout frigates, and some small armed vessels

and store-ships, with 500 troops on board. They had for their commander Captain Macnamara, an officer of courage and experience. Their voyage to the mouth of the Plata, where they arrived on the 2d of November, was expeditious and favourable; but no sooner had they entered that vast river than they were attacked by a violent storm, attended with thunder and lightning. The river itself is shoaly, and its navigation dangerous, had there been no other difficulty to encounter, but the Spaniards were found better prepared for resistance than was expected, having even acted on the offensive with success, and taken, some time before, the Portuguese settlement of Nova Colonia, in which they found a very great booty, and a large quantity of military stores. On this view of things, the adventurers, after consulting together, judged it necessary to begin with the recovery of Nova Colonia, before they made any attack upon Buenos Ayres. An English pilot, who knew the place and river, undertook to carry the commodore's vessel into the harbour, and within pistol-shot of the enemy's principal battery, in which attempt there was great reason to expect success; the ships were in good order, and the men in high spirits. They advanced to the attack with the fullest confidence of victory, and began a fierce fire which was quickly returned, and supported on both sides for four hours with uncommon resolution. The Spaniards pointed their guns well, and stood to them with firmness. But their spirit and perseverance were more than equalled by the British ships, whose fire became at length superior. The Spanish batteries were almost silenced; the English and Portuguese were in expectation of seeing the colours immediately struck, when, just as their success seemed certain, the commander's ship by some unknown accident took fire, and in an instant was all in a blaze. The same moment dis-

covered the flames, and the impossibility of extinguishing them; the scene of horror and confusion that followed is undescribable; the commodore was drowned; and of 340 souls, only 78 in all escaped. The other vessels of the squadron, far from being able to yield any assistance, were obliged to get off as expeditiously as they could, lest they should have been involved in the same fate, and having also received some damage in the action, it was with great difficulty that they made good their retreat to the Portuguese settlement at Rio de Janeiro.

As this was the only check which Great Britain met with in the career of conquest, so it was the only little triumph that Spain enjoyed after a continued series of disasters. In the course of one year, she saw herself stripped of the most valuable of her distant possessions: her ships of war, her merchant-men, her treasures, had every where become the prey of a watchful, active, and irresistible enemy: the intercourse with her remaining colonies was almost totally cut off: and this interruption of her foreign resources was the more alarming, as the vital parts of Spain, contrary to the condition of most other nations, lie at a great distance from the head. Such were the fruits of her treachery to Great Britain—such the consequences of her yielding to the artful and self-interested suggestions of France. The thinking part of the Spanish nation, particularly those engaged in commerce, made no scruple of murmuring at a war, even from its very commencement, in which the interests of a whole people were so evidently sacrificed to the family connexions and private attachments of their prince.

France had as little reason to exult in the success of her intrigues at the court of Madrid. The Bourbon confederacy served only to involve both powers in the same distresses. The attempts in Germany and

Portugal, where their fondest hopes lay, ended in the most mortifying disappointment. The loss of Martinico and its dependencies was an irrecoverable blow to France. So far from being able to make any attempts to regain those islands, she had it not in her power to send out a sufficient force to secure the only settlements that still remained to her from sharing the same fate. Her navy was so much reduced that she could only spare very small squadrons for any undertaking; and she was frequently obliged to trust to single frigates and transports for the conveyance of reinforcements to St. Domingo and Louisiana. These seldom escaped the vigilance of the British cruisers, and her merchant-ships were, for the same reason, left equally exposed. A detail of all the single captures made upon her trade would be endless. She lost at one time a fleet of twenty-five sail, richly laden with sugar, coffee, and indigo, which had taken their departure from Cape François for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of the merchant-men were surprised and taken in the night by some privateers of New York and Jamaica; next day Commodore Keppel fell in with the remainder, and sent them and their convoy into Port-royal harbour.

If France was thus incapable of defending herself at sea, it was not likely that her offensive operations on the same element could be very vigorous or formidable. She made some fruitless attempts, however, two of which deserve notice. The object of the first was to burn the British ships of war in Basque-road, where they were stationed to watch the coast of Brittany, and Brest harbour in particular. The enemy prepared three fire-vessels, which being chained together were towed out of the port, and set on fire, with a strong breeze that wafted them directly towards the English squadron. Through hurry or accident, two of them blew up with a terrible ex-

plosion; and every person on board perished. The wind, also, suddenly shifting, drove them clear of the ships which they were intended to destroy. Had they been managed with the coolness and intrepidity so requisite upon such occasions, they might have done some execution. This occurrence happened near the close of the year 1761.

The other effort was directed against Newfoundland. Monsieur de Ternay, with a squadron of four men of war, and a proportionable number of land forces under the command of Monsieur d'Hausonville, having escaped from Brest in a fog, entered the Bay of Bulls on the 24th of June, 1762, and landed some troops without opposition. After taking possession of an inconsiderable settlement in that bay, they advanced to the town of St. John's, which, being in no condition of defence, readily capitulated. One company of soldiers, of which the garrison of the fort consisted, were made prisoners of war, together with the officers and crew of his Majesty's sloop Gramont, which was in the harbour. They also took some other vessels; destroyed several stages erected for curing cod; and did considerable damage to the English fishers and settlers on different parts of the coast. This success was of very short duration; as soon as the news reached England, a force was immediately fitted out to retake those places, but the vigilance of General Amherst, who had the chief command in North America, superseded the necessity of this armament. He detached Colonel Amherst with a body of forces, and Lord Colville with a small, but sufficient squadron, to recover the island. The land forces attacked some detachments of the French, advantageously posted in the neighbourhood of St. John's; and prepared to attack St. John's itself with so much vigour, that Monsieur d'Hausonville, who had remained there as governor, thought pro-

per to deliver up that place on the 18th of September, and to surrender himself and garrison prisoners of war, before Lord Colville could arrive from the place where the troops had been landed, to co-operate with them. Monsieur de Ternay escaped with the fleet, partly by having gained a considerable distance, by means of a thick fog; and partly because Lord Colville, after their having been discovered, did not apprehend that they really were the ships of the enemy. Thus did every operation, naval and military, concur to humble the pride of the Bourbon confederacy, and to convince the French government that the moment had not arrived for reaping the advantages from the family compact which had been so fondly anticipated.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Disposition of the belligerents towards peace—Dissentions in the cabinet—Changes in administration—Negotiations for peace renewed—Treaty concluded—Articles of the treaty—Disputes arising therefrom—Meeting of Parliament—Birth of the Prince of Wales—Debates on the peace—Adjournment of Parliament—The Cock Lane ghost—Arrival of three Cherokee chiefs in England—Relief afforded to the shipwrecked crew of the Zenobie—This generosity retaliated by the French at Havre de Grace—Behaviour of the Spaniards to their unfortunate assailants at Nova Colonia.*

DISCONCERTED in her views of giving the law to Great Britain, France now really felt those moderate and pacific sentiments, which she had formerly professed, but the sincerity of which was, at that time, rather questionable. Spain, in like manner, having suffered beyond example during her short engagement in the contest, keenly repented of the steps she had taken, and wished to recede. As almost every day brought them intelligence of some mortifying stroke, they did not wait for the issue of all the enterprises before related, but endeavoured, in the beginning of September, to put a stop, by early negotiation, to calamities which they foresaw the improbability of averting by war; and the British government was not so intoxicated with success, as to prefer the continuance of expensive and hazardous efforts to a satisfactory termination of hostilities. The sentiments of the sovereign, the state of the nation as well as of parties, and many other motives of humanity, policy, and patriotism, concurred to render the ministry very earnest in their advances to the accomplishment of so desirable an object. In

all the King's speeches to Parliament, he had constantly expressed an anxious wish to see the tranquillity of his kingdoms restored; and had declared, that the only use he proposed to make of the advantages gained over the enemy in war, was to procure for his subjects the blessings of peace on safe and honourable conditions. The happy moment was now arrived which enabled his Majesty to demonstrate to the world, that he had really spoken the language of his heart. Although from the commercial advantages consequent on the overthrow of the naval power of France and Spain, a very considerable body of the people, particularly in the city of London, was interested in the continuance of the war, the nation at large, fully satisfied with the acquisitions already made, did not wish to see the strength and resources of the country any longer exerted in obtaining new triumphs. Victories grew familiar to them, and made but little impression. The marks of public joy on the most considerable conquests, were become much slighter than were shown, at the beginning of the war, on very trivial advantages. They now thought more generally of the pressure of taxes, and of the enormous accumulation of the public debt, which the continuance of hostilities, however successful and glorious, must render unavoidable. It was time, they said, that England, after having fought her own battles, and those of her allies, with so much honour and spirit, should enjoy a little repose.

The country, in the midst of all her successes, had the most urgent occasion for peace. Though her trade had been greatly augmented, and many of her conquests were not less valuable than glorious, yet her supplies of money, great as they were, did not keep pace with her expenses. The sacrifice of life in so extensive a war became sensibly felt; and the troops were recruited with difficulty, and at a

heavy charge. These strong motives of public, or national policy, for encouraging pacific proposals, were farther enforced by some private considerations. A change in the system of the British ministry had begun this war: another change made it expedient to put an end to it.

It has been already observed, that the whole council, except Lord Temple, were unanimous in their opposition to Mr. Pitt's scheme for precipitating the rupture with Spain. But their unanimity upon that occasion did not imply a perfect coincidence of opinion, or harmony of sentiment in other respects. He was not long removed from office, before it appeared that the remaining part of the system was framed upon principles so very discordant, that it was by no means likely to stand. The liberal ideas of the new King's friends, and the exclusive spirit of the old King's ministers, when brought as it were into immediate collision, kindled a flame, the violence of which was not to be easily subdued by any efforts of human sagacity. George the Third, the moment he ascended the throne of Great Britain, determined to abolish, as far as possible, those odious distinctions of Whigs and Tories which had so long divided the kingdom; and to extend the royal favour and protection equally to the whole body of his subjects. He felt a just contempt of the narrow policy which had prevailed during the two preceding reigns, when all the great offices of state were engrossed by one party, and when others of equal or superior merit were totally shut out from any share in the administration. He did not forget the obligations his family had been under to the Whigs for their early and vigorous support: but he wished not to suffer a sort of hereditary gratitude for one set of men to produce injustice to all the rest. He was also warned, by the shock of two rebellions, against pursuing a system that served to

provoke such ferments; and he saw, towards the close of the late King's reign, the good effects with which an alteration of that system was immediately attended. Mr. Pitt had originally associated himself with the Tory patriots, and first acquired distinction by opposing the corrupt measures of Sir Robert Walpole, the declared head of the Whigs. After the latter was driven from the seat of power, Mr. Pitt occasionally temporized, being sometimes reputed a Whig, sometimes a Tory, till he got the chief direction of public affairs, when he indiscriminately employed persons of all parties, with equal honour to himself, and advantage to the state. His Majesty would gladly have availed himself of Mr. Pitt's assistance to complete so noble a design, and to establish a plan of administration, which would afford equal encouragement to every man of virtue and abilities throughout the empire, but his hopes of Mr. Pitt's concurrence were unhappily disappointed. This minister was, indeed, of no party; but it was rather owing to a defect, than to any excellence in his character. An imperious and unaccommodating disposition rendered him incapable of acting otherwise than alone. Placing too great a confidence in the superiority of his own genius, he treated the opinions of others with too little delicacy, and the want of more conciliating manners was a bar to any permanent union between him and his colleagues in office.

Soon after the resignation of Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the treasury, grew extremely jealous of the Earl of Bute's influence in the cabinet. This nobleman, who, at first, had been appointed groom of the stole, and was next appointed secretary of state, in the room of the Earl of Holdernesse, enjoyed a very distinguished share of his sovereign's esteem and confidence. His conduct was irreproachable, but he was said to

be a Tory. On this ground, therefore, the duke, who had long been considered as the head of the Whigs, hoped he could ruin the credit of his rival, by reviving those factious distinctions, on which his own merit principally rested. A loud clamour was therefore raised by the duke's hirelings against the Tory favourite, and every art was used to point towards his lordship the national prejudice against natives of Scotland. But these efforts served only to rivet the King's attachment to the earl more strongly; and the duke found his own weight in administration daily decline, notwithstanding his great parliamentary interest, his high office, and his importance as the demagogue of the most powerful party in the kingdom. He accordingly thought himself obliged to resign in the latter end of May; and the Earl of Bute was immediately placed at the head of the treasury. Mr. George Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, became secretary of state in the room of his lordship; and the place of first commissioner of the admiralty being vacated by the death of Lord Anson, that office was bestowed on the Earl of Halifax, now returned from Ireland. The two last appointments were well calculated to lessen the unpopularity of the Earl of Bute's promotion. Mr. Grenville's character for integrity and patriotism stood as high in public estimation as that of his brother, Lord Temple; and, in point of application and abilities, he was certainly his superior. Any unfavourable impression, therefore, which might be made by the resignation of the one, ought naturally to have been effaced or counteracted by the other's acceptance of an office under the new minister. The Earl of Halifax had acquitted himself in a variety of public employments with great applause. When first lord of trade in the year 1758, the plan for conquering the French settlements of Senegal and Goree was carried into execution under his patronage; and

the African Company erected a bust in his honour at the Senegal coffee-house in Cornhill. During his short stay in Ireland, he suppressed, by his vigilance, some riots and disturbances which had spread a general alarm in the southern parts of that kingdom. His conduct was so fully approved of by the Parliament there, that they unanimously agreed on an address to his excellency, desiring he would represent to the King the sense of the House, that the appointments of the lord-lieutenant were become inadequate to the dignity of that office: they therefore humbly desired that his Majesty would be pleased to grant such an augmentation to the lord-lieutenant for the time being, as should raise the whole to the annual sum of 16,000*l.*: they farther expressed their satisfaction at the pleasing hope, "that this augmentation should take place during the administration of a chief governor, whose many great and amiable qualities, whose wise and happy administration in the government of that kingdom, had universally endeared him to the people of Ireland." The earl received this glorious testimony of their approbation with all suitable acknowledgments: but, with a delicacy peculiar to himself, declined their proposal that the augmentation should take place during his government. Such were the men whom the Earl of Bute associated with him in office; and, during his administration, the vacancies which happened in the higher departments of the state, were uniformly filled by men of reputation and abilities.

Many of the Duke of Newcastle's friends, who were in official situations, resigned with him: others of the same party, who had before made offers of their services, retired with him in disgust; and some, who were supposed to be attached to the late ministry, were deprived of the places which they held under government, as their faithful exertions in the public service could not be depended upon. The

Earl of Bute also thought it sound policy, in conformity with the system of liberal comprehension already explained, to attempt a coalition with the great body of the Tories, or country gentlemen of ancient families, who were able to yield him effectual support. They readily came into his measures; and as they had long been excluded from any share in the management of the state, they were now doubly zealous to show themselves worthy of the confidence of their King and country. Their efforts, however, were as vigorously opposed by the discontented party; and no one could be surprised at the ferment which ensued; in which personal resentment, factious intrigues, and national, or rather local prejudices, were all united to throw every thing into confusion. Whilst the nation was thus distracted by violent cabals, the conduct of a war became difficult; its continuance unsafe; and its supplies uncertain. If the administration failed, their failure would be imputed to incapacity: if they succeeded, their success would be converted into an argument for such terms of peace as it would be impossible for them to procure. Above all, the ancient and known connexion between the chiefs of the monied interest and the principal persons in the opposition, must have been a subject of great anxiety to the ministry. These co-operated to render them heartily inclined to peace; and they thought themselves justified in their wishes for it at this juncture, from the motives before enumerated; from the successes and the burdens of the nation; from the flourishing state of some of their allies, and the doubtful state of others; and, in general, from those arguments of humanity, which made it high time that Europe should enjoy some interval of repose.

The Bourbon courts and that of England thus concurring in the same point, all difficulties were speedily smoothed. It is said, that the first overtures

were made under the mediation of the King of Sardinia. As soon as the terms were proposed, in order to give a pledge to each other of their mutual sincerity, it was agreed that this treaty should not be negotiated, as the former had been, by subordinate persons; but that the Kings of France and England should reciprocally send to each other's courts a person of the first consequence and distinction in either kingdom. Accordingly, on the 5th of September, the Duke of Bedford set off for Paris, with the character of ambassador and plenipotentiary from the court of England, to negotiate a peace; and on the 12th of the same month, the Duke of Nivernois arrived in London, with the like commission from the French court.

Very little time was spent in adjusting the outlines of the treaty, or explaining the principles on which it was to proceed. The negotiators seemed, in some measure, to assume as a basis, those points which were nearest to a settlement in the treaty of 1761; and to commence where that transaction concluded. The spirit of the two negotiations, so far as regarded the peculiar interest of Great Britain, was almost perfectly similar. There was scarcely any other difference than that Great Britain, in consequence of her successes since that time, acquired more than she then demanded: but still the general idea was the same. With regard, indeed, to some of her allies, the principle of the two treaties was greatly varied; but the change was sufficiently justified by the alteration in the affairs of Germany during the interval between both. Those who conducted the negotiation in 1761 were steady in rejecting every proposition, in which they were not left at liberty to aid the King of Prussia with the whole force of Great Britain: those who concluded the peace in 1762 paid less attention to the ambitious or interested views of that monarch, though they did not

neglect his safety. At the beginning of the year, and before they had entered into this negotiation, they refused to renew that article of the annual treaty, by which his Britannic Majesty would have been engaged to conclude no peace without the King of Prussia; though, at the same time, they declared themselves willing to assist him with the usual subsidy. He, on his part, refused the subsidy unconnected with that article; and a coolness was supposed to take place between both courts for some time after. The adjustment of affairs in the empire did not form any material obstruction to the progress of the treaty. Both parties readily agreed to withdraw themselves from the German war. They thought, and rightly, that nothing could tend so much to give peace to their respective allies, as mutually to withdraw their assistance from them; and to stop that current of English and French money, which, as long as it ran into Germany, would be sure to feed a perpetual war in that country. The conduct of the two courts upon this occasion, though very different from what they had held in the year 1761, was much more politic in itself, as well as perfectly defensible, from the change of circumstances. This will appear evidently from a view of the state of the German war at both periods.

When the former negotiation was on foot, the affairs of the King of Prussia were at the lowest ebb: he was overpowered by the whole weight of Austria, of Sweden, of the empire, and of Russia, as determined as ever in her enmity, and then successful; to say nothing of France. It would have been ungenerous, on the part of Great Britain, to have deserted him in that situation. But, at the time of making the last treaty, the condition of his affairs was absolutely reversed. He had got rid of the most powerful, and one of the most implacable

of his enemies. He had also concluded a peace with Sweden. The treaty itself freed him from all apprehensions of France. He had, then, none to contend with, but a nominal army of the empire, and one of Austria, which, though something more than nominal, was wholly unable to oppose his progress. His situation, from being pitiable, was become formidable. It was, perhaps, good policy to prevent the balance of Germany from being overturned to his prejudice: it would have been the worst in the world to overturn it in his favour. These principles sufficiently explain and justify the British ministry for so remarkable a change in their behaviour towards the King of Prussia. The conduct of France upon both those occasions may be accounted for, nearly in the same manner. She had very justly excepted to the demand of the evacuation of Wesel, Cleves, and Gueldres, when made by Mr. Pitt in the first negotiation; because he refused to put an end to the German war. In this last treaty, the French assented, without hesitation or difficulty, to the very same demand; because we agreed, in common with them, to be neutral in the disputes of the empire. Thus the peace of Germany, so far as it depended on Great Britain and France, was paid a due regard to; and the other powers, being left to themselves, soon terminated their differences.

As the Bourbon confederacy had no pretext for the quarrel with Portugal, but the advantages which Great Britain derived from her friendly intercourse with that country during the war, the article relating to his most faithful Majesty did not admit of the least altercation. Any of his territories or possessions which had fallen into the hands of the French and Spaniards, were to be evacuated by their troops, and restored in the same condition they were in when conquered. After the concerns

of the allies were provided for, the most important part of the treaty still remained, which was, to adjust every thing that related to the settlements and commerce of Great Britain and of the Bourbon courts. The circumstance which so much impeded this adjustment in the preceding negotiation, was the intervention of the claims of Spain. The attempt of the Bourbon powers to intermix and confound their affairs at that juncture, had a share in making the war more general: on this occasion it had a contrary effect. As the whole was now negotiated together, it facilitated the peace, by affording easier methods of regulating the system of compensation, and furnishing more largely to the general fund of equivalents.

The great object, and the original cause of the war, had been the establishment of precise boundaries in America. This was, therefore, the very first point to be now attended to; and it must be observed, that it was settled much more accurately than it promised to be in the negotiation of the foregoing year. For the French not having ascertained the limits between their own possessions with greater exactness than they had those which separated them from the British possessions, it was not clear, in ceding Canada, how much they really gave up. Disputes might have arisen, and, in fact, did immediately arise upon this subject. Besides, the western limits of the southern British colonies were not mentioned; and they were extremely obscure, and subject to many discussions, containing in them the seeds of a new war. In the present treaty, it was agreed, that a line drawn along the middle of the river Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and thence along the middle of this river, and the lakes of Maurepas and Pontchartrain, to the sea, should irrevocably fix the bounds of the two nations in North America.

This line included a very large tract of country, which formerly made a part of Louisiana, in addition to what was properly called Canada; and these newly acquired territories of Great Britain were farther enlarged and completely rounded, by the cession of Florida on the part of Spain. As the northern boundaries had been long since settled by the treaty of Utrecht, all occasions of limitary disputes seemed to be effectually cut off; and the British possessions in America were as well defined as the nature of such a country could possibly admit. The advantages which were expected to flow from so great an increase of empire on that continent, will be examined in a summary of the arguments that were urged for and against the treaty.

The Newfoundland fishery was another point of infinite importance, and a subject of much controversy. In a commercial view it is certainly of great estimation: but it has been considered as even more material in a political light. That fishery is the sole support of many maritime places, which would otherwise be of no value: it is a grand nursery of seamen, and consequently one of the principal resources of the marine. Scarcely any object could be of more importance to two nations who contended for a superiority of naval power. The more clearly, therefore, it was the interest of Great Britain to acquire the exclusive exercise of this fishery, the more strongly and evidently it became the interest of France to oppose such a pretension. Not only a large part of her foreign trade depended on the fishery, but a great part of her domestic supply. Besides, every hope of the strength, and almost the existence of her naval power, must have vanished with the surrender of so inestimable a right. The English ministry knew France would rather run all the hazards of war, than totally re-

linquish this object. But though they despaired of driving the French entirely from the fishery, they endeavoured as much as possible to diminish its value to them: that article of the treaty of Utrecht was established, by which the French were admitted to fish, and to dry their fish, on the north-east and north-west parts of Newfoundland, from Cape Bonavista to Point Biche; and were excluded from the rest of the island. They were also permitted to fish within the gulf of St. Lawrence; but not to approach within three leagues of any of the coasts belonging to England. This precaution was used, not only with a view of abridging their fishery of dry cod, but principally in order to prevent their landing, and, on that pretence, forming settlements on those extensive deserts which surround the gulf. Otherwise, the privilege might become a means of exciting new disputes between the two nations. Another restriction imposed on the French fishery was, that it should not be exercised but at the distance of fifteen leagues from the coasts of the island of Cape Breton, which was ceded to England. In return for this, the French obtained the full right of the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, his most Christian Majesty engaging not to erect any fortifications on these islands, nor to keep more than fifty soldiers there to enforce the police. In this article, the plan of the former negotiation was pursued: but the idea of a resident commissary, and the occasional visitation of a ship of war, were omitted, as regulations which were in truth more humiliating to France, than advantageous to England. With regard to the pretensions of Spain, she entirely *desisted* from the right of fishing on these coasts. A more unequivocal expression should, and undoubtedly would have been insisted upon, if it had been of any great consequence in what terms a right was renounced, which for a long time had

never been exercised. The claim itself was almost as obsolete as that of the King of England to the dominions of France.

When the affairs of the West Indies came to be settled, though they caused great difference of opinion among the public, they did not seem to raise any considerable difficulty in the negotiation. There England had made great conquests, and there also she had made great concessions. She restored to France the islands of Martinico, Guadaloupe, and Marigalante, besides an assignment, or surrender, of the neutral island of St. Lucia. Of her late acquisitions she only retained Dominica, Tobago, St. Vincent's, and the Grenadas. To the three former she had an old claim, which was now confirmed: the latter were ceded and guarantied to her in full right. As the intelligence of the success of the British arms at the Havannah had arrived before the settlement of this part of the treaty relative to the West Indies, it was in order to obtain the restoration of that valuable conquest, that Spain agreed to some articles before enumerated, namely, the evacuation of all conquests made upon Portugal, or her foreign colonies; the cession of Florida, with the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola; the renunciation of the right to the Newfoundland fishery; and, in addition to these, Spain also consented not to disturb the English in their occupation of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, and to permit them to build houses there for the convenience of their trade. It was stipulated, however, in this last grant, that they should demolish their fortifications on that coast, as a tacit acknowledgment, that the privilege they were now suffered to enjoy was not founded upon right, but derived from favour.

In Africa, Goree was restored to France, and Senegal remained to Great Britain. In the East Indies, all the factories and settlements taken from

the French since the beginning of the war, were given up to them, on their engaging not to erect any forts, nor to keep any number of soldiers whatsoever in the province of Bengal; and to acknowledge the reigning subas of Bengal, Decan, and the Carnatic, as the lawful sovereigns of these countries. In Europe, Minorca and Belleisle were to be restored to their former possessors; and the fortifications and harbour of Dunkirk were to be demolished, agreeably to the stipulations of former treaties. There was one article totally omitted in the present treaty, though it had been the subject of the most warm and obstinate controversy in the former negotiation. This was the restitution of the captures made by England previously to the declaration of war. On this point, the ministers of the two courts appeared at that time equally positive, the one to demand, the other to refuse such a restitution. France could not now make a greater sacrifice to the honour of Great Britain in the eyes of all Europe, than by passing over that matter in total silence. The fears of the Bourbon courts were effectually removed by an article stipulating that the conquests not included in the treaty, either as cessions or restitutions, should be given up without compensation. France and Spain knew themselves exposed in almost every quarter: they had no armament on foot, from which they could expect any considerable advantages · whereas the British ministry had great reason to hope that the important expedition against the Philippines could not fail of success. The reduction of Manilla had actually taken place; but the news, though conveyed with extraordinary dispatch, did not reach England till the April following.

Such were the chief articles of a treaty which put an end to the most sanguinary and expensive war in which Great Britain had ever been engaged. But it must be added that her efforts had not, in any

contest, been ever crowned with greater glory and success. The preliminaries were signed by the British and French ministers at Fontainbleau, the 3d of November; and the 24th of the same month the Duke of Nivernois, ambassador from the most Christian King, made the following speech to his Britannic Majesty on the occasion:

"Sir,

"A cordial reconciliation between two powerful monarchs, formed to love each other, a permanent union of system between two great courts, attracted to one another by their interests rightly understood; and a sincere and lasting conjunction between two respectable nations, whom unhappy prejudices have too frequently divided; form the glorious æra of the commencement of your Majesty's reign: and this æra will, at the same time, be that of happiness restored to the four quarters of the world. Your Majesty's name, your glory, and your virtues, will be inseparably joined in history with universal felicity: and posterity will there read, with sentiments of respect, that treaty which will be distinguished, above all others, by good faith, without equivocation, and by permanent stability.

"Permit me, Sir, to felicitate myself at your feet; on being chosen by the king, my master, to serve between your Majesty and him, as the organ of the noble sentiments of two hearts so worthy of each other, and to be employed in this blessed work, which ensures your Majesty's glory, by giving happiness to the whole world."

But however highly the French ambassador might estimate the blessings of peace, the people of England were very much divided in their sentiments respecting the merits of the treaty. Uncommon pains had been taken to prejudice the public against every article, as it happened to transpire during the negotiation. A multitude of pamphlets

appeared, some recommending a continuation of hostilities as likely to give the finishing stroke to the commerce of the enemy; others exhibiting laboured comparisons between the different conquests that were to be restored or retained, in which the importance of each was magnified or depreciated, according to the views and purposes of the writers. Every concession was criticised without mercy; and the whole treaty represented as an infamous compact, made at the expense of Great Britain. The friends of administration exerted themselves with equal industry on the other side of the question, pointing out the madness of continuing the war, and placing in the most advantageous light the value and security of the present acquisitions. This clash of contending interests and opinions excited throughout the kingdom the most violent heats, which were blown into a combustion by every art, and every instrument of party, that had ever proved effectual upon similar occasions. In the course of these political conflicts, and particularly after the signing of these preliminaries had been formally announced to the public on the 8th of November, some efforts were used to bring about a coalition between the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, who had hitherto kept aloof from each other, at the head of their respective adherents. It seemed hardly possible that any cordial friendship could take place between those statesmen. The former, when in office, was far from being satisfied with the principles or conduct of the latter, he secretly encouraged the attacks that were made upon Mr. Pitt's measures, and had not Lord Bute stept in, he himself would have taken the lead in support of the pacific system. But whatever resentment on that account Mr. Pitt must have felt, he and the duke were not so irreconcileably averse to one another, as each of them was to

the Earl of Bute. Common enmity therefore united the two factions; and they joined their endeavours to persuade the people, that the Parliament would never ratify, or, at least, pass over without heavy censure, the conditions of a peace so inadequate to the successes of the war, so far below the just expectations of the nation. The ministry, thus threatened by a formidable opposition, took the most effectual steps for securing the approbation of the legislature. Though Mr. Fox continued in his old place of paymaster, he undertook to conduct the affairs of government in the House of Commons, for which no man could be better qualified. The Earl of Halifax exchanged his seat at the head of the admiralty with Mr. G. Grenville, whose parliamentary duties, as joint secretary of state with the Earl of Egremont, would have interfered with Mr. Fox, both being commoners. Other arrangements were also made, conducive to the proposed end: every department was cleared of doubtful characters: many of the Duke of Newcastle's former supporters in the Lower House were gained over: and the landed interest was found to be well affected to the measures of administration.

Whilst the most vigorous preparations were thus making by both parties for a trial of strength, the Parliament met on the 25th of November, and the session was opened with a speech from the throne, which, after noticing the operations of the war, bears testimony to the unwearied perseverance, and unparalleled bravery of both officers and privates, by sea and land; by whose conduct and courage, his Majesty says, "my enemies have been brought to accept of peace on such terms as, I trust, will give my Parliament entire satisfaction." The conditions, he adds, "are such, that there is not only an immense territory added to the empire of Great Britain, but a solid foundation laid for the increase of trade and

commerce; and the utmost care has been taken to remove all occasions of future dispute between my subjects, and those of France and Spain, and thereby to add security and permanency to the blessings of peace." The speech then states, that the utmost regard has been had to the interests of Portugal, Prussia, and our other allies. On the subject of finances his Majesty says, "it is the greatest affliction for me to find, that, though the war is at an end, our expenses cannot immediately be so much lessened as I desire; but as nothing could have carried us through the great and arduous difficulties surrounding us but the most vigorous and expensive efforts, we must expect for some time to feel the consequences of them to a considerable degree." The speech then regrets the loss of great numbers of men in all parts of the world, recommends such methods, in the settlement of our new acquisitions, as shall most effectually tend to the security of those countries, and to the improvement of the commerce and navigation of Great Britain, and urges union and economy, "which can alone relieve this nation from the heavy burdens brought upon it by the necessities of this long and expensive war."

In answer to this speech, each House prepared an address, containing, in very loyal and affectionate terms, general compliments of congratulation on the approach of peace, and on another event, which the king, through delicacy, had not mentioned—the birth of the Prince of Wales. On the following day, (Nov. 26,) the Commons further resolved, that a congratulatory message should be sent to the Queen, on the auspicious event of the birth of his Royal Highness, and of her happy recovery.

That part of the public which had hoped that the peace would be severely censured by Parliament, was totally disappointed. The opposition in the Lords was feeble, and, except with regard to a few

advocates for the continuance of the war, somewhat inconsistent. The others had formerly recommended the same general plan of peace, which was adopted in the preliminaries with evident improvements. "But," said they, "our additional successes since that time, gave us ground to expect better terms." The answer was, "that the burdens of the state, and the extent of the war, had increased in, at least, an equal proportion; and that peace was therefore not less necessary now than at any former period" In the course of the debate, the lords, in opposition, blended with their arguments some poignant reflections on the Earl of Bute's conduct, which he vindicated with temper and spirit, and with more oratorical talent than he had been supposed to possess; he traced step by step the progress of the negotiation, and declared himself a warm promoter of the peace, adding, that he wished no other epitaph to be inscribed upon his tomb. He was well supported by the Earl of Halifax, and by so evident a majority, that the House did not divide, but approved of the preliminaries, without any qualification or reserve.

The triumph of the minister in the Commons was not so easily obtained. The chancellor of the exchequer laid a copy of the preliminary articles before the House on the 29th of November, which were taken into consideration on the 9th of December, and an address to his Majesty, in approbation of the terms, was moved by Mr. Fox, who took the lead in support of the peace; and was strongly resisted by Mr. Pitt, who was carried to the House in a state of extreme pain and weakness from an attack of the gout. During part of his speech, which lasted nearly four hours, he was allowed the unprecedented indulgence of delivering his sentiments sitting. He had determined, he said, at the hazard of his life, to raise up his voice against the preliminary

articles of a treaty which obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith, by abandoning our allies. He was supported by a few who also disapproved of the conditions. Nothing, they said, could justify the absolute, unconditional surrender of St. Pierre and of Miquelon, which would enable France to recover her marine, and by degrees to acquire the best part of a fishery from which she ought to have been entirely excluded. But the restitution of the conquests, particularly of those in the West Indies, was most severely censured by all who disapproved of the treaty, both in and out of Parliament. France, they observed, had long since gained a decided superiority over us in the West India trade, which gave employment to the multitude of young seamen trained up in the fishery, enriched her merchants, and augmented her finances. At the close of so expensive a war, they argued, that we might very reasonably have demanded something towards our indemnification as well as security, for which our acquisitions in North America were very inadequate, the state of the existing trade being low, the speculations of their future trade precarious, and the prospect remote. The advantage of retaining Martinico or Guadaloupe would have been immediate, and the greater in its effects from the corresponding loss which would ensue to France, whilst our African trade would be augmented by the demand for slaves, and that of North America would all centre in ourselves, instead of redounding, as it has hitherto done, to those who were lately our enemies, and will always be our rivals. Nor is there, they added, any thing extravagant or overbearing in this demand, for though we had been determined to retain either Martinico or Guadaloupe, or even both, our conquests still left abundant matter to display our

moderation. The concessions made to Spain, in the same part of the world, were looked upon as equally unjustifiable. Florida, they maintained, was no compensation for the important conquest of the Havannah, which laid all the Spanish treasures in America at our mercy. The privilege obtained from Spain, in favour of our logwood cutters, too, could not be considered among the list of equivalents. Instead of establishing a solid right in this long contested trade, we engaged to pull down our forts, and to destroy the only means of protecting it. What security have we, that our logwood cutters shall not be molested in their naked and defenceless situation? The King of Spain's promise! It is not words, but the power of repelling force by force, that can prevent hostilities or injustice. The strictures were concluded with asserting, that Goree, on the coast of Africa, had been surrendered without the least apparent necessity; that in the East Indies, the restitution was all from one side, that we had conquered every thing, and retained nothing. In Europe, France had only one conquest to restore, Minorca; and for this island we had given her the East Indies, the West Indies, and Africa. Belleisle alone, they affirmed, was a sufficient equivalent.

In reply to these attacks it was argued that France would never have consented to a total dereliction of the fishery; that the cession of the isles of Cape Breton and St. John to England was more than equivalent to the sheltering places of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in which she was only allowed to keep such a small number of troops as were barely sufficient to enforce the police; that her share in the fishery was very considerably impaired; and that the residence of an English commissary would be a subject of humiliation to her without any advantage to us. The security of our

colonies upon the continent of America was, they said, the original object of the war ; the danger to which they were exposed, and the immense waste of blood and treasure which ensued to Great Britain, together with the calamities which were, from the same source, derived upon the four quarters of the world, left no doubt that it was our best policy to guard against all possibility of the return of such evils. Experience has shown us, that while France possessed any single place in America, whence she could molest our settlements, they could never enjoy repose ; to remove France from our neighbourhood in America, therefore, or to contract her power within the narrowest limits, was worth purchasing by almost any concession. The absolute security derived from this plan, included in itself an indemnification. They pointed out the great increase of population in those colonies within a few years, showing that their trade with the mother country had increased therewith, and added, that our American planters would, in a very short time, furnish as large a demand of our manufactures, as all the working hands of Great Britain could supply ; that extent of territory and a number of subjects are matters of as much consideration to a state attentive to the sources of real grandeur, as the mere advantages of traffic, such ideas being rather suitable to a limited and petty commonwealth, like Holland, than to a great, powerful, and warlike nation. Having, for these reasons, made very large demands in North America, it was necessary to relax in other parts. France would never be brought to any very considerable cession in the West Indies : but the existence of her settlements depended upon ours in North America, she not being any longer left a place whence they can be supplied with provisions. They did not deny the importance of the Havannah ; but insisted, that the whole country of Florida,

with fort St. Augustine and the bay of Pensacola, was far from being a contemptible equivalent. It extended the British dominions along the coast to the mouth of the Mississippi: it removed an asylum for the slaves of the English colonies, who were continually escaping to St. Augustine: it deprived the Spaniards of an easy avenue, through which they could invade Georgia and Carolina: it afforded a large territory, a strong frontier, and a good port in the bay of Mexico. The liberty and security which the King of Spain engaged to afford to the English logwood cutters, was another material consideration; the fortifications on the coast were to be demolished, because we only claimed a privilege of cutting and taking away this wood by indulgence. That privilege is now confirmed, and what more, consistently with reason and justice, could we demand? Could his Catholic Majesty have made a fuller or more adequate compensation for the Havannah, without dismembering his empire, or exposing its commerce to inevitable ruin? Had Great Britain, they argued, fought for herself alone, and restricted her efforts to her own element, she might have assumed a more peremptory tone in dictating the terms of the treaty; and, if they were not acquiesced in, she might have resolved to keep all her conquests, and to prosecute hostilities to the full accomplishment of her wishes. But she was saddled with the protection of her allies; and, on their account, involved in a double continental war, the expense of which overbalanced all the advantages she could derive from the success of her arms. France and Spain had declared, in plain terms, that, without the restitution of the islands and of the Havannah, peace could be of no service to them; that they would rather hazard the continuance of the war, which, in the long run, must exhaust the finances and credit of England; and, in the mean time, re-

double their efforts in making an entire conquest of Portugal, which it could not be in the power of the British auxiliaries to prevent.

With respect to the other cessions, they thought the rock of Goree of very little consequence, while Great Britain retained Senegal, which commanded the chief trade of the interior. The article which related to the East Indies was agreeable to the wishes of the English company, and did not afford those advantages to France which might be imagined; first, said they, because their fortifications, erected at a vast expense, have been totally destroyed; and it cannot be expected, in the situation of the French company, that they can, in the course of many years, if at all, rebuild them in the same manner. Besides, they are restrained by an express article from even making the attempt in the province of Bengal, and the kingdom of Orixa, or from keeping the least military force in either. Secondly, they have also agreed to acknowledge the reigning subas of the chief provinces in the peninsula, as the lawful sovereigns; and these princes are all in our interest, as either owing the acquisition, or depending for the preservation, of their power on our arms; by which means our company is become, in effect, arbiter of that great and opulent coast, extending, on one side, from the Ganges to Cape Comorin, and on the other, from the same Cape to the mouth of the Indus. Thirdly, during the course of our successes, the traders and the manufacturers have removed from the French to our settlements, where they will have at least an equal market, and a superior protection; and it will be difficult, if not impossible, to allure them back. What important sacrifices, then, have we made in the East Indies? And, if the points yielded by Great Britain in all other parts of the globe are so fully justifiable on the principles of sound and liberal policy, surely, the most wilful

perverseness will not dare to deny, that in Europe the balance is considerably in her favour, the Island of Minorca having been given her in exchange for Belleisle, besides obliging France to demolish the works belonging to the harbour of Dunkirk. Mr. Pitt had objected, with much earnestness, to the article by which France agreed to *evacuate* the Prussian fortresses, contending that the word should have been *restore*, but the House considered the meaning to be the same.

Such were the principal arguments with which the preliminary articles were attacked and defended. If nothing but the grossest flattery could assert that the treaty was free from defect, nothing but the utmost perverseness could deny that it was likely to be productive of many great and essential advantages to this kingdom. Were it entitled to no other praise, it will remain as an everlasting monument of that equity and moderation which form the most lovely flowers in the wreath of conquest. The only fair object of war is a *durable* as well as an honourable peace, which nothing is more likely to disturb than the indignant feelings excited by severe terms. A generous victor would never trample his enemy under foot, and there may sometimes be true policy in even upholding a rival. Sparta refused to enslave Athens, and Rome repented of having destroyed Carthage. If Great Britain had determined fully on keeping whatever would be advantageous to her, war must have been continued to extermination; but, notwithstanding all her successes, she had strong reasons to wish for the restoration of peace. Had that event been longer delayed, she must shortly have made preparations for another campaign, and the defence of Portugal, in which success was by no means certain, would, in addition to other operations, require her utmost exertions, whilst an annually increasing expenditure, and a heavy accumulation of

national debt, far exceeded any advantages which could be expected to result from a further prosecution of the war. The number of men employed in the year 1762 exceeded 337,000, whose services cost the nation about 18,000,000*l.* If the loss of men, which, to Great Britain alone, was supposed to be little short, during the war, of 300,000, be taken into the account, surely no real friend to his country or to mankind could wish for the continuance of such a prodigious expenditure of blood and treasure. The mutual advantages of social intercourse between friendly nations are much more likely to restore the funds dissipated by war, than a pertinacious adherence to conquests. On the merits of the treaty the candid will decide from the crisis at which it was made, and not from any events that subsequently took place; but it must be remarked, that some few politicians, who incurred the charge of illiberality by the conjecture, thought that the idea of security to the English colonies in North America had been carried too far, and that the total expulsion of the French would embolden them to shake off the control of the mother country, when they no longer stood in need of her protection against a restless, active, and warlike neighbour.

When the House divided on Mr. Fox's motion, there appeared 319 for the address, and only 65 against it. A committee was then appointed to prepare it; and on its being reported next day, another debate ensued, in which the old ground was trodden over again, and nothing new introduced, except a reproach on the ministry for not having insisted on the dissolution of the family compact. It was not likely that such an idea should have occurred to them in the course of the negotiation. That compact, after all the noise it made in the political world at that time, was nothing more than a defensive alliance between the two branches of the house of

Bourbon, for the mutual guaranty of their respective dominions, which any two nations have a right to contract: and a mutual concession of commercial privileges, with which every power has an undoubted right to indulge its allies, without giving just cause of offence to any neighbouring nation. The address, which was approved by a majority of 227 against 63, stated the conviction of the House, that posterity would hereafter agree in esteeming that peace to be no less honourable than profitable, by which Great Britain acquired such an addition of territory, attended with so great an extension of commerce. This address put an end to the parliamentary contest on the subject of the peace, and nothing else of any moment was transacted in either House before the recess. The chief business consisted of votes of thanks to the army and navy for their great and important services. The renewal of the duties on malt, and of the land tax, was the only part of the ways and means for the service of the ensuing year, that was prepared for the royal assent on the 21st of December; after which both Houses adjourned to the 20th of January.

The history of this eventful year cannot be properly concluded without noticing a few detached occurrences of minor interest. About its commencement, an extraordinary and wicked imposture, attempted by a child not more than eleven years of age, exercised for some time the credulity, and engrossed the conversation, of the inhabitants of the metropolis. This child was the daughter of one Parsons, the officiating clerk of St. Sepulchre's, who lived in Cock Lane, West Smithfield. The girl, tutored in all appearance by her father for the purposes of malice, pretended to be visited by the spirit of a young woman who had formerly lodged in the house, and who afterwards removing into the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell, had died about a year and a half

before this period. This person, who went by the name of Miss Fanny, had lived in familiarity with one Mr. Kent, a broker, the widower of her deceased sister, and who, after the death of his former wife, would willingly have married Fanny: but this union being forbid by the canon law, the parties lived together in great harmony, but without the sanction of the church, until she was seized with the small-pox, of which distemper she died. Her lover, it seems, had incurred the resentment of Parsons, by pressing him for the payment of some money; and this is supposed to have been the source of the plan which Parsons now projected for the broker's destruction. His daughter pretended to see the apparition of Fanny, whose favourite she had been. She was seized with fits and agitations; and strange noises of scratching, fluttering, whispering, and knocking were heard in the apartment where she lay. A woman, who lived in the house, and was an accomplice in the imposture, pretended to hold conferences with the ghost. She asked, if it was the spirit of Fanny? and, if it was, desired the affirmative might be signified by a certain number of distinct knocks, which were heard accordingly. She then asked if the spirit had any thing to disclose for the detection of guilt?—if it was the spirit of Fanny?—if her death had been hastened by violent means?—if those means had been used by Mr. Kent, with whom she lived? To all these, and many other inquiries of the same tendency, answers were made in the affirmative, by three distinct knocks to each interrogation; and this sort of converse was often repeated in the hearing of many different companies, who crowded to the house to satisfy their curiosity. The sound of the knocks varied at different times, and seemed to proceed occasionally from different parts of the room. Other noises of scratching, rustling, whispering, and something like

the fluttering of wings, were frequently perceived while the child lay in bed, seemingly insensible; for her presence was the sole condition on which the spirit would make itself known, and it would follow her wheresoever she should be conveyed. The circumstances of this strange visitation interested the public to such a degree, that in all assemblies, from the highest to the most humble, nothing was heard but remarks on the ever-varying wonders of the spirit in Cock Lane, where there was a perpetual flux and reflux of people of all ranks and characters. What was at first proposed as the gratification of revenge alone, became now a source of considerable profit, as every person paid for admittance to the haunted chamber. Among the lower class of people this ridiculous imposture produced a general spirit of infatuation, and filled the domestics of almost every family with such terrors as greatly disconcerted them in the performance of their ordinary business. Many weak minds, in respectable spheres of life, were infected with the fears of the vulgar. Some individuals, who entered the house with a view to mirth and ridicule, were so struck with the scene, that they became converts to the general belief. It even made an impression upon some persons of superior understanding; and one or two clergymen openly declared they could no longer discredit the reality of this supernatural visitation. In vain was it suggested by a few of more discernment, and less credulity, that such deceptions were very practicable, considering the known faculty that many people, called ventriloquists, have had of uttering strange noises, and making them appear to come from any place they thought proper, without the least visible motion of their lips. Some strong proofs were, however, necessary for the detection of the imposture; and proper steps having been taken for the purpose, the whole was demonstrated with the fullest

evidence. The child was removed to the house of Mr. Aldrich, rector of St. John's, Clerkenwell, and there undressed, examined, and put into a bed without any furniture, by some ladies. Several gentlemen of character also attended; but after sitting rather more than an hour, and hearing nothing, they went down stairs, where they interrogated the girl's father, who denied, in the strongest terms, any knowledge or belief of fraud. As the supposed spirit had before publicly promised, by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault under St. John's church, where the body of Fanny was deposited, and give a token of its presence there by a knock upon its coffin, it was determined to make this trial of its veracity or existence. The vault was visited at the hour appointed; and the gentleman, a Mr. Moore, lecturer of St. Sepulchre's, to whom the promise was made, went down into it, attended by two of the company: one of whom was the celebrated Dr. Johnson, who united with great vigour of mind in other respects the most childish credulity, and the most abject superstition. The spirit was solemnly required to perform its promise: but nothing more than silence ensued. The person supposed to be accused by the ghost then went down, with several others, but no effect was perceived. The girl being then reconveyed, at her own desire, to her father's house, the noises returned; and the spurious ghost signified, in the usual way, that it did not exhibit in the vault, because the body had been previously removed thence, and was now interred in another place. The vault was again visited by several persons of credit, among whom were the undertaker, clerk, and sexton of the parish, in whose presence the coffin was opened, and the body found nearly consumed. This was an evidence which ought to have undeceived the most credulous; but as it was still asserted, that the girl, though removed to other

houses, and muffled hand and foot, was constantly followed by the noisy spirit, a farther demonstration of the cheat was deemed requisite. With this view her bed was tied up in the manner of a hammock, about a yard and a half from the ground, and her hands and feet were extended as wide as they could without injury, and fastened with fillets for two nights successively, during which no noises were heard. Next day, being pressed to confess, and being told, that, if the knockings and scratchings were not heard any more, she, her father, and mother, would be sent to Newgate; and half an hour being given her to consider, she desired she might be put to bed, to try if the noises would come; but in vain. She then obtained another night for a last trial; and in the mean time found means to conceal under her stays a board about four inches broad, and six long, which was used to set the kettle upon. Thus provided, she got into bed, and said she would bring Fanny at six the next morning. But the master of the house, and a friend of his, having been informed by the maid-servants of what the girl had done, impatiently waited for the appointed hour, when she began to knock and scratch upon the board, remarking, however, as if with great simplicity, that "these noises were not like those which used to be made." On being told, that she had taken a board to bed, she denied it; was searched, and caught in a falsehood. As the noises the girl made that morning were, in fact, very different from the former ones, it was supposed that the organs with which she invisibly produced the imposing sounds, were not always in a proper tone for that purpose, and that being frightened by the threats made use of the two preceding nights, she resolved to try whether she could keep up the deception by a piece of board. Notwithstanding these successive proofs of the imposture, the reputation of the Cock Lane ghost maintained its

ground among the populace; and the person whom it accused was detested as an infamous murderer, who had poisoned a poor young creature, after having robbed her of her innocence. It was of little service to him to publish, in vindication of his character from so horrid a charge, the affidavits of the physician and apothecary who had attended her in her illness, and the testimonies of those who had conversed with her in her last moments, and had seen the tender parting between them. Under these circumstances, he had recourse to the protection of the law, by commencing a prosecution against Parsons, the father of the child, a certain ecclesiastic, who had been very active in behalf of the pretended spirit, and some others, who, by supporting the imposture, had contributed to his ruin. They were convicted of a conspiracy before Lord Chief-Justice Mansfield, who would not suffer them to make the least attempt towards proving that the visitation was, or might have been supernatural. He treated such a supposition with the contempt it deserved, and represented the whole as an infamous imposture. Parsons was condemned to the pillory, and two years' imprisonment: his wife was imprisoned for half that time: the woman who acted as interpreter for the spirit, was committed to Bridewell, to be kept for six months to hard labour: and the clergyman, together with a reputable tradesman who had been very busy in this transaction, were dismissed with a severe reprimand, after having compromised the affair with the prosecutor, to whom they paid a considerable sum of money.

Public curiosity was soon after amused in a much more agreeable and innocent manner by the arrival of three Cherokee chiefs from South Carolina, the object of whose embassy was to settle a lasting peace with the English nation. They arrived in May, but had not their first audience of the King till the 9th of

July. The principal person of the three was called Outacite, or Man-killer, on account of his martial exploits. The King received them with great affability, and directed that they should be entertained at his expense. Their behaviour in his presence was remarkably decent. The man who assisted as interpreter on this occasion, instead of one who set out with them, but died on his passage, was so confused, that though they staid for above an hour and a half with his Majesty, he could ask but few questions. They were all well made men, near six feet high, their faces and necks coarsely painted of a copper colour, and with no appearance of hair on their heads. They had come over in the dress of their country, consisting of a shirt, trowsers, and mantle, their heads covered with skull-caps, and adorned with shells, feathers, ear-rings, and other gewgaws of the like sort; but on their arrival in London, they were conducted to a house taken for them in Suffolk Street, and habited more in the English manner. When introduced to his Majesty, Outacite wore a blue mantle covered with lace, and had his head richly ornamented. On his breast hung a silver gorget with his Majesty's arms engraved on it. The two other chiefs were in scarlet richly adorned with gold lace, and had also silver gorgets on their breasts. During their stay in England, for about two months, they were invited to the tables of several of the nobility, and were shown every thing that could serve to inspire them with proper ideas of the power and grandeur of the nation. But, what is very remarkable, they expressed no emotions of surprise at any object, however curious in its own nature, or seemingly adapted to strike the imagination of a savage. They traversed the metropolis, every street of which contained more people than the collected huts of a whole Indian nation: they beheld the shops and warehouses filled with a profusion of wealth and

merchandize; and the river covered with trading vessels from all parts of the globe: they surveyed the churches, palaces, hospitals, and some of the most elegant seats of the nobility and gentry: they viewed the guards exercised in the Park; the armoury at the Tower; the splendour and magnificence of the court; the train of artillery, the camps, the fleets, the dock-yards in different parts of the kingdom: in a word, they saw all the improvements of arts and mechanics, the commerce, strength, and opulence of England, without discovering the least symptom of admiration. This was accounted for by some people from their total ignorance of our language, and their want of means to express their sentiments otherwise than by their gestures. But even these would have served to indicate, however imperfectly, the impression made upon them by such sights. Their indifference to all those objects of novelty and grandeur was therefore ascribed, with greater show of reason, to a sort of brutal insensibility, which seems to be the character of the North American tribes in general, notwithstanding all the encomiums which some writers have lavished on the natural good sense and sagacity of those savages. The chiefs were likewise conducted to the theatres, and other places of amusement in and about London, where they constantly drew after them innumerable crowds of spectators, to the no small emolument of the owners of those places, some having even raised their prices, to make the most of such unusual guests. Here they behaved in general with great familiarity, shaking hands very freely with all those who thought proper to solicit that mark of their good nature. They carried home with them articles of peace between his Majesty and their nation, with a handsome present of warlike instruments, and such other things as they seemed to place the greatest value on.

In vain have some cynics, as if actuated by a wish

to degrade their own species, drawn laboured and disingenuous parallels between savage and civilized life, in which they strove to turn the scale in favour of the former. Such men wrote, from their closets only, the dictates of ignorance, affectation, or malignity. Every opportunity of intercourse with the savages of North America has shown them to be stupid and unsocial in time of peace, and in war capable only of acts of treachery and ferocity. Such were the impressions made upon the minds of the most accurate observers by the Cherokee chiefs, during their singular embassy in England; and such is the general testimony of those who have intermixed much with the savages in their own country, or have ever been engaged in hostilities against them. But war between civilized nations frequently presents, in the midst of all its horrors, objects which afford exquisite pleasure to the feeling heart. Some striking instances of this kind occurred even in the last year of the violent contest between England and the house of Bourbon, when all parties were inflamed to the highest pitch of mutual animosity.

On the 12th of January, a French frigate, called the Zenobie, of 22 guns and 210 men, commanded by Mr. de Sage, which had sailed two days before from Havre de Grace, was attacked by a violent storm; and the crew, finding all efforts to weather it ineffectual, and their situation at sea becoming every moment more desperate, were obliged, as the last resource, to run the ship ashore on the peninsula of Portland. Only 71 of the men with great difficulty were saved; and these must have perished through the rapacious cruelty of the inhabitants who live by plunder, piracy, and shipwrecks, had it not been for the humane interposition of the commander of Portland, who removed them to Weymouth. His Majesty was no sooner made acquainted with their deplorable circumstances, than he ordered that they

should be immediately clothed, and supplied with all other accommodations and entertainment at his expense. The lords of the admiralty also wrote an answer to a petition they had sent, informing them that war would never prompt the English nation to add captivity to misfortune; and that they were not considered as prisoners.

It was not long before this act of generosity and humanity was retaliated by the subjects of France. On the 21st of February, an English trading vessel was driven on shore near Havre de Grace, in a dreadful hurricane, and dashed to pieces; but the crew very fortunately escaped with their lives. The commandant of the town, being informed of the affair, afforded them the most hospitable reception. They were quartered at a coffee-house, and the common men had each of them a daily allowance of thirty sous, about fifteen pence English money, while they remained there. No convenient opportunity offered of sending them back to their own country till the middle of March.

But the humanity of a civilized people to an enemy in distress was still more signally displayed in the attack upon Nova Colonia, the unfortunate issue of which has been already related. The English commodore's ship, the Clive, took fire in the very instant of victory. The spectacle was dreadful beyond the power of description. All the sides of the vessel were immediately crowded with naked men, who but a few minutes before reckoned themselves almost in the assured possession of wealth and conquest, precipitating themselves into the sea, with the melancholy alternative of a death by fire or water. Some clung to the yards and rigging, until the prevalency of the flames forcing them to loose their holds, they tumbled into the deep. The fire of the Spaniards, which recommenced on this accident, redoubled their distress; and many who might have escaped drown-

ing, perished by the shot. Several had lost their limbs in the engagement, who lay bleeding and helpless on the deck, and, without the least power of shifting their situation, beheld the flames approach them. No assistance could be given, all being occupied by their own distress, and intent on their own preservation. But what will reflect eternal honour on the Spanish garrison, is, that the moment they were relieved from any farther dread of the assailants by this terrible catastrophe, and the retreat of the other ships, they immediately turned their thoughts to the assistance of such of the crew as had escaped from the fire, and got ashore. There these brave but unfortunate men were treated with a degree of tenderness which could not be exceeded, if the same calamity had happened to them on the coast of their own country, and amongst their dearest friends and relations. Instead of regarding them as persons who came to plunder and destroy their settlements, the Spaniards considered their misfortunes, not their enmity, and treated them rather as sons than captives. The English came to them naked: they clothed them all decently, and used them in every other instance with equal indulgence and generosity. The war closed with an action the fittest in the world to infuse sentiments correspondent to a state of peace and union between brave and generous nations, whose undoubted interest it is to be always united.

## CHAPTER V.

*Survey of Europe at the close of the War—Internal dissentions of France—Difficulties of the English Government—Ways and Means—Unpopularity of the Cyder Tax—Arguments for and against it—Resignation of the Earl of Bute and Sir Francis Dashwood, and consequent changes in the ministry—Close of the session—John Wilkes committed to the Tower for a libel in the North Briton—His liberation and subsequent proceedings—Birth of the Duke of York—Death of the Earl of Egremont and changes in the ministry—Meeting of Parliament—Message respecting Wilkes and debates thereon—Discussion on Privilege—The Sheriffs obstructed in burning the North Briton—Duel between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Martin—Marriage of the Princess Augusta—General warrants declared illegal—Wilkes quits England, is expelled the House, and outlawed—Supplies—American taxation first projected—Limitation of franking—High price of provisions—Private abuses in mad-houses discussed—Close of the session.*

Soon after the close of so fierce and general a war, Europe exhibited a reviving prospect to the philosophical observer. He saw the rage of conquest every where subdued, and the spirit of useful labour and improvement superseding that of rapacity and devastation. The late scenes of blood were quickly covered with the sweetest verdure; and the towns and villages which had been destroyed rose more beautiful from their ruins. Nations, tired of hostile strife, began now to confine their efforts to objects of nobler emulation,—to the arts of utility and happiness,—to the pursuits of industry, genius,

and science. Even the most ambitious among their sovereigns appeared to be at length convinced, that extent of dominion was too dearly purchased by the lives of thousands: that sanguinary glory was equally pernicious and contemptible; and that more wealth and real power could be derived from the honest endeavours of their subjects to enrich themselves, than from their servile assistance in plundering, destroying, or enslaving others. In short a calm and benign peace seemed brooding over this quarter of the globe; and the internal state of every country afforded the best pledge for the continuance and increase of its blessings.

Russia, though at a distance from the theatre of war, had most sensibly felt its havoc in the decrease of its inhabitants. In that vast empire, to the extent of which its population is so extremely disproportioned, the loss of a man cannot be compensated by military laurels. In the northern provinces the human race exists with difficulty, from the severity of the climate and the barrenness of the soil, without being exposed to the more destructive ravages of the sword; and, in the southern districts, if large armies are more easily collected, the state of the revenue was at that time but ill adapted to the increased expenses which attended the employment of troops in distant countries. The particular situation of the Empress, also concurred to render her averse to any precipitate quarrels with her neighbours. It was necessary, for some time at least, that she should confine her views to her own safety; that she should collect, within itself, all the force of the empire, in order to oppose it to the designs of the many malecontents with whom Russia was known to abound, and who, though not attached to the interest of the late czar, and little inclined to revenge his fate, would have found both inducement and opportunity for raising troubles, and attempting new changes. Very

plausible pretences for such attempts existed since the reign of Peter the First, who, while he aimed at improving and strengthening his kingdom, left in it, at the same time, the seeds of civil wars and revolutions. The attention of Denmark and Sweden was not less engrossed by objects of domestic concern. His Danish Majesty, Frederic the Fifth, having amicably settled with Russia whatever was in dispute concerning the dutchy of Holstein, resumed his former measures for promoting the happiness of his people, and converting to the most profitable account, the opportunities of a friendly intercourse with the nations round him. The genius of the Swedes had too long been turned to arms. Dazzled by the splendour of occasional, but extraordinary success, they had fancied themselves born only to regulate the destinies of empires, and the hope of plunder had been united to the love of glory. It required the experience of a century and a half to undeceive them in their false notions of grandeur, and to convince them that their natural poverty was not to be remedied by martial exploits. The exhausted state of the kingdom, the loss of former conquests, the elevation of Russia, and the near example of Danish industry, made them sensible that it was time for them to lay aside the military character, and to betake themselves to the useful arts. Peace was become the wish of the whole nation; and their King favoured this rational propensity, not only from a just perception of its advantages, but from being constantly harassed by factions in the senate, and by the jealousy or intrigues of his enemies at home, without seeking for others abroad. With regard to the King of Prussia, after having exhausted all the resources of his genius in the course of a long and dreadful struggle, towards the close of which his salvation was owing to an incident beyond the reach of even hope itself, it was not probable

that he would be very forward again to commit his affairs to the chances of war. The Empress-queen, on her part, had as little temptation to disturb the general tranquillity. Since she failed to reduce Silesia, or even to recover the smallest particle of her losses, with such an exertion of her own strength, and with such an alliance as was never before united, she must have been satisfied of the folly and madness of renewing the calamities with which Germany had for six years been afflicted. To this consideration was also added her natural desire to settle her numerous offspring, and particularly to secure the Archduke John's succession to the imperial diadem, by having him previously elected King of the Romans. She herself had experienced the difficulty of establishing the claims of birth, even under the sanction of assenting powers, at the death of her father, who left no male issue. It was therefore necessary to behave in the most conciliating manner towards the electors, in order to prevent any opposition to the choice of her son. In consequence of her prudent policy, he was crowned at Frankfort, the 3rd of April, 1764; and, the year after, on the death of his father, he ascended the throne with as little noise and bustle as if it had been hereditary.

In this survey of the situation of the late belligerent powers at the close of the war, it would be unnecessary to make any remarks on France and Spain, as their motives for being so earnest to conclude the treaty of peace have been already explained, were it not that the prevalence of interior dissensions, chiefly afforded some farther pledges of her external inoffensiveness. The King of France had hardly put an end to foreign hostilities, when he was engaged in a contest with his own parliaments, which, according to their original constitution, were supreme courts of justice, and had no share in the other concerns of government. But

since the meetings of the states had been laid aside, the parliaments became in fact the only guardians of the rights of the nation; and though they did not deny that the legislative as well as executive power resided in the King, they contrived a method of controlling the crown in the exercise of both. As no edict, or arret, had the force of law till it was registered by them, they gradually assumed the liberty of suspending the registry for some time, and of remonstrating against the measure, if unpopular or oppressive. The court often found it expedient to act with seeming condescension, till the parliaments, encouraged by success, carried their resistance to greater lengths. Soon after the peace, the King issued an edict for the continuance of some taxes which were to have ended with the war, and for imposing new ones. Some regulations were made in like manner for enabling the crown to redeem its debts at twenty years purchase of their *then produce*, which was very low. The parliaments considered those edicts as burdens on the people, and as violations of the public faith. Without any previous concert, they all resolved on the most strenuous opposition, and determined to take this opportunity of setting up their own authority at so high a point as to prevent the like abuses in future. They refused to register the edicts, and prepared remonstrances, in which the language of fair argument derived force and animation from the spirit of manly freedom. The court, though alarmed, did not tamely give up the point; governors were sent down into the several provinces with orders, in the King's name, to enforce obedience, but the parliaments issued arrets for seizing and imprisoning any who dared to become the instruments of arbitrary power. In short, a civil convulsion seemed inevitable, when the King thought proper to compromise the dispute; and from that moment it was evident that any rash attempt of

Louis to embroil himself with his neighbours, and consequently to increase the burdens of his subjects, would endanger his crown. As to Spain, the wounds she had lately received were so deep, that a great deal of time and care were necessary to heal them. She could not want any fresh proofs of the ruinous consequences of pride, treachery, and precipitance. As she also remained under the influence of French councils, there was the strongest reason to believe, that as long as France found it her interest to continue punctual in the observance of the peace, Spain would not take any step to violate it.

While the aspect of the great political bodies of Europe was so favourable towards each other, the British government never felt greater occasion for the exertions of its vigilance and wisdom, to extinguish the flames of a new war, which suddenly burst out from the ashes of the former, with most of the savage nations in America; to regulate the distracted affairs of the East Indies; and, above all, to defeat at home the designs of the factious. In the debates on the preliminary articles, the opposition appeared extremely weak; and many persons imagined that no serious design was entertained by any set of men, of branding with disgrace a system on which it was absolutely necessary that the nation should repose itself for a long time; to which it was therefore proper the people should reconcile their minds; and which, at least, had a general merit sufficient to dispose them to acquiesce in the conditions of it. But the spirit of the party was not exhausted in the former attempt. They lay in wait to fall upon the administration in the most critical time, and to wound them in the most sensible part, the supplies. The business of impositions is, in itself, unpopular: and fertile minds can readily forbode almost any ill consequences from an untried tax; there being scarcely one pub-

lic burden which may not, with great appearance of just reasoning, be traced in speculation to the ruin of some branch of manufacture or commerce. Beside, though taxes were as necessary at the conclusion, as during the continuance of the war, that necessity was not so evident; nor were they by any means so palatable, as when victory and plunder seemed to repay the national expenditure in glory and profit. The administration, fully aware of this, had determined to lay as few new taxes as the public service could possibly admit, and every scheme of economy had been carried into effect. The profusion of the two late reigns, in supporting the parliamentary interest of the court, had, indeed, left considerable room for retrenchment. The sums lavished in that manner were found, upon minute inquiry, to be extravagant almost beyond belief, as a chain of venal dependency reached from the highest minister down to the meanest domestic, each accumulating, without restraint or examination, profits and perquisites amounting often to ten times the value of their regulated appointments. The reform of such abuses occasioned an outcry from the numerous dependants of the late ministers, who pleaded practice and prescription in their favour, many of them even alleging that they had bought their posts from their superiors in office, and had therefore a right to make as much of them as they could. In lopping off those excrescences of corruption, an equitable compensation was made to the persons dismissed; and with regard to such as were retained, care was taken that the servants of the state should receive no more than their lawful wages. These laudable savings not being, however, adequate to the necessities of the public, the ministry were doubly perplexed, not only on account of the difficulty of opening new resources at the close of a very expensive war, but also in consequence of their own repeated decla-

rations, that a peace was necessary, in order to lighten the pressures of the people. The following expedients appeared to them most eligible. They proposed to take 2,000,000*l.* from the sinking fund; to issue exchequer bills to the amount of 1,800,000*l.* chargeable on the first aids to be granted the next session; to borrow 2,800,000*l.* on annuities; and, lastly, to raise the sum of 700,000*l.* by two lotteries in the course of the year. To defray the interest of these loans, amounting in the whole to 7,300,000*l.* an additional duty of 8*l.* a tun was to be laid on French wines, and 4*l.* a tun on all other wines. No objection could well be urged against such imposts; but another duty was added, which afforded an opportunity of raising a popular clamour throughout the whole nation. This was a duty of 4*s.* a hogshead on cyder and perry, to be paid by the maker, and to be subjected, with certain qualifications, to all the laws of excise.

No sooner was this tax laid before the House of Commons than opposition unmasked, as it were, all its batteries, and attacked not only the ways and means proposed, but the very basis of economy on which the whole plan of the supplies was founded. They maintained, that the nation was far from being exhausted; that there were resources for carrying on the war at least two years longer, and much more towards clearing off encumbrances on the peace; that as individuals abounded in wealth, and as the public was loaded with an immense debt, it was in such circumstances the dictate of the wisest and most enlarged policy, to add as much as possible, by bold and liberal grants, to the income of the nation. After having censured the general spirit of the proposed system of finance, they examined its several branches, and differed with the ministry upon every particular. They condemned the lottery plan as encouraging the spirit of gambling, and giving an

enormous profit to the subscribers. They thought that scarce any necessity could be pleaded in favour of a perversion of the sinking fund from its original purposes to the current service; and that the appearance of tenderness for the people in such an expedient was altogether deceitful, when they were exonerated for a time only to be more heavily burdened afterwards. These objections came with little weight from gentlemen, who, when in administration, had complained of the difficulties of levying new taxes; had established the practice of lotteries, which, on all hands, were admitted to be necessary evils; and had given the greatest blows to the sinking fund it had ever received. They chiefly dwelt, however, on the cyder tax, contending that with regard to its object, it was partial and oppressive; and, to the means of collecting it, dangerous and unconstitutional; that it laid a heavy burden on a few particular counties, which in every other article of the public charge contributed their share, that it was disproportionate and oppressive, operating on the landholders more severely than the land tax; on farmers as a heavy capitation, or a subjection to new, unknown, and perplexed laws, and to tribunals arbitrary in their nature, and inconsistent with the principles of liberty, and that it would tend to introduce the excise laws into every private family.

The friends of administration replied, that to aim at increasing the national income by any farther taxes than what extreme necessity demanded, was a wild project: that every tax implied some discouragement to trade, because in its consequences it enhanced more or less, in foreign markets, the price of our manufactures, which must always, in time of peace, depend for their vent principally on their cheapness: that every tax also, in order to be effectual, naturally implied some restraint upon liberty: that nothing demonstrated more fully the solidity

of these principles than the objections then urged against the duty on cyder and perry, a moderate and equitable imposition; and that, of all men, it ill became those who spoke so strongly of continuing and enlarging the charge of the nation, to quarrel with one of the least distressing resources which could be found for the public. As to the tax being unequal, every body, they said, knew, that in other counties, where the people drink beer, all private, as well as public consumption is charged, in the malt tax, more heavily than cyder; and as to the disproportion of the tax to the original value of the commodity, nothing could point out an object for taxation more strongly, than its original price being so low, that it might be sold cheap, even after the imposition. So far from this act extending the powers of the excise, the makers of cyder were far more favoured than any other class of people under its jurisdiction, and the measure proposed no new interference in the affairs of private families, for if every gentleman in the nation was not subjected to the excise laws, it was because he did not chuse to make his own malt; some who chose to do so being so subject: but this act allowed all persons making cyder or perry for the use of their own families to compound for the duty, and should they even not chuse to do so, if one man, they asked, extracted an agreeable beverage from his apples, and another from his corn, what particular immunities or privileges was the former entitled to more than the latter? Why was the cyder-house of the one to be regarded as a greater sanctuary than the malt-house of the other? The excise, they argued, was co-eval with the establishment of civil liberty in this country; and the enlightened sons of freedom, who brought about the glorious revolution, could never believe that they sacrificed any essential part of their rights, by adopting the cheapest and most

productive means of collecting certain branches of the public revenue. With regard to the excessive premiums which the government was obliged to give for money, they threw the blame on the former ministry, who, they said, had so frequently and so immoderately applied to public credit, that they had raised the terms of the lenders; and that, though the return of peace might be supposed, by its natural operation, to put new life into public credit, that operation had been prevented by the rise of domestic faction. They justified the application of the sinking fund to the service of the year, by the reason and propriety of the measure itself, as well as by the frequency of the example. They asked, if it were not better to postpone a possible payment of some part of the public debt than to increase the capital amount of it, and in the mean time burden with new taxes industry and commerce, already sinking under the loads that had been laid upon them through the profuse management of the late war. The last circumstance was added on account of the almost incredible demands that were made upon the government by contractors of all kinds, foreign as well as domestic, some of whom were known to have made fortunes in the course of the war, far exceeding what fell to the share even of the great Duke of Marlborough, during the same number of campaigns.

Whatever impression these arguments must have made on the majority of both Houses of Parliament, it is certain that they were found insufficient to quiet the clamours which had been excited, and of which the subject of complaint relative to the supplies had been the pretence only, and not the cause. Every quarter was full of tumult and confusion. Libels, audacious beyond example, were circulated throughout the kingdom; and the writers seemed to vie with each other only in scurrility and falsehood. The

lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons, of London, instructed their representatives, in terms that conveyed no favourable ideas of the intentions of the government, to oppose the cyder-bill; and many other members, in consequence of having received similar instructions from their constituents, did not support the ministry on this occasion. The latter, however, steadily pursued their point, and accomplished it, though petitions against the bill from the city of London were presented to both Houses. The very instant it was known that the bill had passed the Lords, the city carried up a third petition to his Majesty, imploring him not to give his royal assent to so much of it as subjected the makers of cyder and perry to the laws of excise, a proceeding which, in fact, beseeched his Majesty to prefer the advice and opinion of the corporation of London to that of both Houses of Parliament. The second and third reading of the bill in the House of Lords had also been attended by two protests, each signed by three noblemen, and including an exact repetition of the same objections.

A few days after the passing of this bill, in which alone the minister had not so considerable a majority as usual, the Earl of Bute resigned his office of first lord of the treasury, and Sir Francis Dashwood that of chancellor of the exchequer. The resignation of the latter excited very little surprise; although a man of undoubted integrity, the business of finance was neither suited to his inclination, nor to his talents; but the Earl of Bute's conduct was the subject of much astonishment. His enemies affected a momentary triumph, as if they had forced him to quit the helm: but it soon appeared that he had only voluntarily withdrawn himself, and that none of the party in opposition gained a single appointment by his removal. The assertions which gained most ground were, that the earl, being alarmed at

the rising tempest of popular fury, and afraid of a parliamentary inquiry into some of his late measures, had bargained for his personal safety with his successors in office; and that every thing was still governed by his secret influence. The very same thing had been said of Walpole, the whig favourite in the preceding reign, and of the ministry who succeeded him, but animosity and prejudice seldom attend to the nice distinctions of character and circumstances. Walpole resigned, because he saw that there was a confirmed majority in Parliament against him, and that nothing but a compromise with some of his political adversaries could screen him from danger. The Earl of Bute left office with a powerful majority in his favour; so that his retiring to a private station might rather be looked upon as a bold challenge to his enemies, and as dictated by a consciousness of unimpeachable rectitude. Some of the earl's dependants, who were likely to feel the loss of a patron, loudly exclaimed against his abandoning, as they called it, his friends and his sovereign, just when a little perseverance would have entirely defeated all opposition, and rendered his power immoveable. But the most dispassionate and best informed observers said, that the earl was, perhaps, the last man in the world to be influenced by popular opinion, or intimidated by popular fury: that he had given a proof of this by being the first to oppose Mr. Pitt, though at that time the idol of the people, when the latter recommended in council an immediate rupture with Spain; that the steady vigour with which he had conducted the war, and the lead which he finally took in the great and necessary, but dangerous undertaking of making peace, sufficiently demonstrated his firmness, and his contempt of censure, and that when he had done that important service, he resolved that the factious party should not have even the poor

pretence of objecting his private ambition as the cause of disturbances which had been raised solely by their own. After all, it is impossible to speak of the Earl of Bute's private motives with confidence or certainty. They were probably known but to a few of his most intimate friends. But whatever might have been the cause of his resignation, it certainly did not abate the public ferment, as the ends of the popular leaders were not in any respect answered by it. The door still remained shut against their admission into office. Mr. Grenville was appointed first commissioner of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer; and his former seat at the head of the admiralty was filled by Lord Sandwich. The Earls of Halifax and Egremont continued to be the two secretaries of state: Mr. Fox was removed to the Upper House, on being created Lord Holland; but as no new characters were introduced, the conduct of public affairs did not appear to be in the smallest degree affected by the late minister's retirement.

On the 19th of April, just three days after those arrangements in administration had taken place, the King went to the House of Lords, and closed the session with a speech, in which he observed that the articles of peace had been rendered still more advantageous by the definitive treaty; that from a desire of strict economy the army would be reduced below the usual peace establishment; that his Majesty lamented the necessary addition to the public burdens, and that it was his intention to apply the money arising from the sale of such prizes as were vested in the crown to the public service.

This speech, though breathing the true spirit of a patriot King, and carrying with it an indisputable proof of its sincerity in the promised application of the French prize-money to the public service, was a few days after criticised with the utmost malignity

and insolence in a periodical publication entitled the "North Briton." The author of this libel was John Wilkes, at that time member of Parliament for Aylesbury, who, being involved in the greatest distress by vice and dissipation, had often applied to the ministry for some post that might repair his shattered fortunes; but prepossessions arising from his known profligacy were so strong against him, that he failed of success, and resolved, as he openly declared, to try how far it was practicable to carry the licentiousness of language, under pretext of exercising the liberty of the press. Though he had no pretension to genius or eloquence, he possessed the more dangerous talent of expertness in seasoning his writings to suit the taste, and to inflame the minds of the vulgar. Perceiving the stoical indifference of the ministry with regard to their own persons, he aimed his abuse at the King himself, and in the 45th number of his paper, animadverted upon his speech with such daring acrimony, that the secretaries of state thought themselves obliged, in vindication of the grossly insulted honour of the sovereign, to take up the author. The process for this purpose was a loose office form, which had been constantly practised ever since the revolution, and never censured during that period. It was a warrant of a general nature, signed by Lord Halifax, and directed to four of his Majesty's messengers, commanding them to apprehend, without specifying any names, the authors, printers, and publishers of that seditious and treasonable paper. In consequence of these orders, George Kearsley the publisher, and several printers, were apprehended; and their examination affording sufficient ground for fixing upon Mr. Wilkes as the author, the messengers went to his house on the 29th of April, late at night, and produced their warrant. Mr. Wilkes excepted to its generality, and as his name was not mentioned in it, he threatened the

first man who should offer violence to his person in his own house at that unseasonable hour. The messengers thought proper to retire; but they returned next morning, and carried him in a coach before one of the secretaries of state, partly, as he alleged, by force. On his refusing to answer any questions relative to the charge brought against him, the following warrant for his commitment was signed by both the secretaries of state, and was addressed to the constable of the Tower, or his deputy:

"These are, in his Majesty's name, to authorize and require you to receive into your custody, the body of John Wilkes, Esq. herewith sent you, for being the author and publisher of a most infamous and seditious libel, entitled, The North Briton, No. XLV; tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people from his Majesty, and to excite them to traiterous insurrections against the government: and to keep him safe and close, until he shall be delivered by due course of law; and for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at St. James's, the 30th of April, 1763, in the third year of his Majesty's reign."

A copy of this warrant was readily granted to Mr. Wilkes's solicitor by Major Rainsford, the commanding officer at the Tower, but no persons were admitted to speak with the prisoner. The like measures had been constantly adopted upon similar occasions; but this restraint was represented as an infringement of the rights of the subject, and a wanton stretch of tyrannical cruelty. The seizure and sealing up of his papers, a thing never omitted upon taking into custody any person charged with being the author of a treasonable libel, was called downright robbery, notwithstanding that peculiar delicacy was observed in the present case: for the under-secretary of state, and the solicitor to the treasury attended, and invited the friends of Mr. Wilkes to be present at

sealing up his papers, an operation which had in past times been performed by the messenger, were he ever so rude or illiterate. Even the committal to the Tower, which was chosen from respect to the person of a member of Parliament, was employed by the agents of faction to excite terror, and to swell the popular alarm. Immediately on the first intimation of Mr. Wilkes's having been apprehended by the King's messengers, a motion was made in the court of Common Pleas for an *habeas corpus*, which was granted; but the prothonotary's office not being open, the *habeas corpus* could not be sued out till four o'clock in the afternoon, before which time Mr. Wilkes had been committed to the Tower. The Monday morning after, the court of Common Pleas ordered a return to the writ, which having been served upon the messengers only, their return was, that Mr. Wilkes was not then in their custody. The court not judging that return to be sufficient, would not suffer it to be filed; and another writ of *habeas corpus* was granted, directed to the constable of the Tower and his officers; in consequence of which the prisoner was brought up next day, May the 3d, to Westminster-hall. As soon as Mr. Wilkes was conducted to the bar of the court, he made a formal speech, replete with virulent expressions against the ministry, affected compliments to the King, and laboured encomiums upon himself as a dauntless champion and persecuted sufferer in the cause of liberty. Pleadings followed on both sides; and the prisoner was remanded to the Tower, till Friday the 6th of May, that the judges might have leisure to consider the case, and to form their opinion; but, in the intermediate time, his friends and lawyers were to have free access to his person. When Mr. Wilkes was again brought to Westminster-hall, he made a second speech of the same inflammatory tendency as the former, and which, though seem-

ingly addressed to the judges, was in reality an appeal to the passions of the multitude.

Lord Chief-Justice Pratt, in delivering the opinion of the court, stated the case under three heads, which had been chiefly insisted upon in the pleadings: first, the legality of Mr. Wilkes's commitment; secondly, the necessity of a specification of those particular passages in the 45th number of the North Briton, which had been deemed a libel; and, thirdly, Mr. Wilkes's privilege as a member of Parliament. In regard to the first, his lordship remarked, that he would consider a secretary of state's warrant, through the whole affair, as nothing superior to the warrant of a common justice of the peace; and that no magistrate had, in reality, a right *ex officio* to apprehend any person, without stating the particular crime of which he was accused: but at the same time, he observed, there were many precedents where a nice combination of circumstances gave so strong a suspicion of facts, that though the magistrate could not be justified *ex officio*, he was, nevertheless, supported in the commitment, even without receiving any particular information for the foundation of his charge. The word *charge*, his lordship took notice, was in general much misunderstood, and did not mean the *accusation* brought against any person taken up, but his *commitment* by the magistrate before whom he might be brought. Upon the whole of this point, according to the customary rule which had been for a series of years observed by the sages of the law, his lordship was of opinion, that Mr. Wilkes's commitment was not illegal. As to the second point in discussion, which Mr. Wilkes's counsel had contended, that a specification of the particular passages in the North Briton which were deemed libellous ought to have been inserted in the body of the warrant, his lordship did not think any such specification necessary; for even supposing the

whole of the obnoxious paper to have been copied into the warrant, yet it by no means came under the cognizance of the court at that time. The matter then in consideration was, not the nature of the offence, but the legality of the commitment; the nature of the offence not resting in the bosom of a judge without the assistance of a jury, and not being a proper subject of inquiry, till regularly brought on to be tried in the usual way of proceeding. On the third head, which was the plea of privilege, his lordship remarked, that there were but three cases which could possibly affect the privileges of a member of Parliament, and these were *treason*, *felony*, and the *peace*. The *peace*, as it is written in the institutes of the law, his lordship explained to signify a *breach of the peace*. He said, that the commitment of the seven bishops for *endeavouring to disturb the peace* happened in an arbitrary reign, when there was but one honest judge out of four in the court of King's Bench, and he had declined giving any opinion. "If then," continued his lordship, "the privilege of Parliament is to be held sacred and inviolable, except in the three cases wherein it is forfeited, it only remains to examine how far Mr. Wilkes's privilege is endangered in the present instance. He stands accused of writing a libel. A libel, in the sense of the law, is a *high misdemeanor*, but does not come within the description of *treason*, *felony*, or *breach of the peace*. At most, it has but *a tendency to disturb the peace*, and consequently cannot be sufficient to destroy the privilege of a member of Parliament." The court then discharged Mr. Wilkes, who returned the judges his thanks in the name of the public, of the whole English nation, and of all the subjects of the English crown, for his liberty; though it is very evident, that he obtained it only under the circumstance of his being a member of Parliament. As soon as he

had done speaking, the mob expressed their satisfaction by a shout, which was often repeated, and crowds followed him with loud huzzas wherever he went. Though he had not been a week in confinement, he was considered as the martyr of liberty: and from the effect of still greater infatuation, his discharge, on account of privilege, was looked upon as a point gained to the freedom of every indvidual.

In the morning after Wilkes's release from the Tower, he wrote a letter to the two secretaries of state, complaining, that, during his confinement, his house had been *robbed;* and that, being informed the *stolen goods* were in the possession of their lordships, he insisted upon restitution. Next day he repaired to a justice of the peace, and demanded a warrant to search the houses of the two secretaries; which was, of course, refused by the magistrate. Though nothing could be more extravagant than such proceedings, yet the secretaries of state thought proper to return, under their own hands, a serious answer to his absurd charge. They took notice of the indecency and scurrility of his language; but they very candidly explained the legal motives for the seizure of his papers, informing him, that such of them as did not lead to a proof of his guilt should be restored, but that the rest would be delivered over to those whose office it was to collect the evidence, and manage the prosecution against him. This explanation only afforded Wilkes a fresh opportunity of sending to their lordships a second letter, stuffed with still grosser insults than the former, but such as added to his reputation among the populace.

Another circumstance happened about the same time, which Wilkes was equally eager to lay before the public. One of the secretaries of state had written to Earl Temple, who was lord-lieutenant of the county of Buckingham, signifying to him his Majesty's pleasure, that Wilkes should be dismissed

from being colonel of the militia for that county. This order was communicated to Wilkes with much seeming concern by his lordship, who was himself soon after removed from the lieutenancy of the county, to make way for Lord Le Despencer, late Sir Francis Dashwood. The letters that passed on this occasion were printed and industriously circulated, as a farther proof of the cruel persecution Wilkes suffered. The populace, whose pity he thus endeavoured to secure, were incapable of reflecting, that the libeller of the King and government of any country is a very improper person to be intrusted with the chief means of its internal security and defence.

Soon after this, Wilkes having caused a printing press to be set up, under his own direction, at his house in Great George Street, advertised the proceedings against him, and the original papers, to be sold for a guinea. The exorbitancy of the price was a sufficient evidence that he intended this publication should not only indemnify him for his sufferings and expense, but also help to recruit his exhausted finances. This scheme, however, was not crowned with all the success that he expected; and the re-appearance of the North Briton, with all his efforts to increase the number of his seditious adherents, was so far from intimidating ministry, that an information was filed against him in the court of King's Bench. About this time, also, his veracity received a severe shock from a writer in the public papers, who called on him to make good an assertion advanced in his first speech at the court of Common Pleas, that corrupt offers had been made to him by the government: he was defied to declare when, how, or by whom, such offers had been made, and what they were. Neither Wilkes nor any of his friends thought proper to take the least notice of this peremptory challenge, though often

repeated, and affecting the credit of his whole narrative. It was farther observable, that nearly all the men of sense and character in the opposition despised him; and that none of his deepest schemes could induce them to engage in any general measure for supporting either his cause or himself. But the populace, of whom Wilkes was now become the idol, paid little regard to the detection of his falsehoods, or the failure of his attempts to secure more respectable support. Their delusion was confirmed, and the heat of their passions was continually exercised and increased with great art and industry. The printers, and some other persons, who, as well as Wilkes, had been taken up by general warrants, sought redress at law; and such was the temper of the times, which, by being diffused among the people, was supposed to have influenced the juries, that they obtained damages greatly beyond their real sufferings, and, possibly, beyond their own most sanguine hopes.

Whilst the public mind was thus agitated, the Queen was, on the 16th of August, 1763, safely delivered of her second son, Frederick, afterwards created Duke of York and Albany, Bishop of Osnaburgh, &c.

During this period, also, an event took place, which seemed at first likely to occasion a change in the ministry. This was the Earl of Egremont's sudden death of a fit of the apoplexy, on the 21st of August. His Majesty, upon this event, gave way to some overtures for a coalition of interests. The proposal, which was first made to Mr. Pitt by the Earl of Bute, was readily embraced by the former, and he appeared at court with great alacrity. Mr. Grenville offered, for the tranquillity of his Majesty's government, to resign his place of first commissioner of the treasury, and to accept of any post that was not utterly inconsistent with his

rank in life. The accommodation appeared the more practicable, as none of the great leaders testified the smallest unwillingness to be again associated in office with the Earl of Bute. But when Mr. Pitt, at a second interview with the King, proposed the particular arrangements, it appeared that he wished to engross for himself and his friends all the important offices of the state, and that none but subordinate situations were to be left for those to whom the King thought himself bound by ties of honour and justice. The treaty, therefore, proved ineffectual; and the administration returned to its natural channel. There were at this time two very important vacancies, that of secretary of state, occasioned by Lord Egremont's death, and that of president of the council, which had not been filled since the decease of Lord Granville. The seals of the former office were given to Lord Sandwich, and the Duke of Bedford succeeded to the president's chair. Some other promotions took place, the most remarkable of which were, the removal of Lord Egmont from the post-office to the admiralty, the Duke of Marlborough's acceptance of privy-seal, and the appointment of the Earl of Hillsborough to be first lord of trade and plantations in the room of Lord Shelburne.

Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Newcastle, and their friends, had looked upon the proposals made to them as an acknowledgment, that the persons then in office could not go on without the accession of their strength; and this mistaken idea had occasioned the unreasonable demands of the popular leaders; but as soon as the negociation was broken off, and when they saw the helm of state, which they had just fancied to be within their grasp, intrusted to other hands, they determined to rally all their forces; to renew their atacks on the peace; to represent every step taken to pre-

serve good order, as so many strides towards the establishment of despotism; to render the late exercise of the royal prerogative odious, because a deference had not been paid to an imperious cabal, in the appointment of an administration; and by all these combined efforts to shake, if possible, the foundations of that power, which seemed to bid them defiance. The ministry, on their part, did not appear to shrink from the contest, but with equal judgment and spirit improved the advantages of their situation, which afforded them an opportunity of striking the first blow.

At the meeting of Parliament on the 15th of November, the King delivered a speech, which, after alluding to the peace, and its having received the approbation of Parliament, acquainted the House that they were called together to improve the valuable acquisitions we had made, and to cultivate the arts of peace in such a manner as would most effectually contribute to extend our commerce, and to augment our happiness. His Majesty then urged their attention to the strictest frugality, earnestly recommended the support of the fleet, upon which the future welfare and importance of Great Britain most essentially depended, and added, that he had directed the money arising from the sale of the prizes vested in the crown to be applied to the public service. The speech concluded with recommending dispatch and unanimity, domestic union being essentially necessary to remedy the evils which are the consequences of war; to enable us to reap the most permanent advantages from the conclusion of the peace; and to discourage that licentious spirit, which is repugnant to the true principles of liberty.

This speech was considered by some as a masterpiece of political ingenuity. Its opening with some remarks on the peace was well calculated to draw

from Parliament a reiterated approbation of that measure, and to signalize the triumph of the ministry upon that point, on which the opposition had been most successful during the adjournment of the two Houses. The Parliament could not refuse to justify its own act; and this would naturally lead them to the censure of those writings which had involved all parties in one accusation. A contrast also was drawn, with great delicacy and truth, between the vast expenses of the late war and the present system of frugality, which could not fail of disconcerting the most passionate declaimers against government; and the hints thrown out on the licentious spirit of the times, and on the necessity of discouraging it, as repugnant to liberty, and to the constitution, were an excellent prelude to the intended proceedings against Wilkes, and on the question of privilege.

The instant the Commons were returned from the Lords, and before the King's speech was reported to them, the chancellor of the exchequer acquainted the House with the proceedings against John Wilkes, for a most seditious and dangerous libel, and that his Majesty, being desirous to show all possible attention to their privileges, and, at the same time, thinking it of the utmost importance not to suffer the public justice of the kingdom to be eluded, had chosen to direct the said libel, and also copies of the examinations, to be laid before them. Mr. Grenville concluded with moving an address to his Majesty, thanking him for his most gracious message, and assuring him that the House would forthwith take into their most serious consideration the very important matter communicated by his Majesty. The House then proceeded to examine the papers, which were copies of the North Briton, No. XLV, and of the examinations of Richard Balfe, the printer, and of George Kears-

ley, the publisher; by which it appeared, that government had been well founded in the proceedings against Wilkes, as the author of that production. A very long and warm debate ensued. It was strongly urged by the gentlemen in the opposition, that no greater liberties had been taken by the author of the obnoxious paper, with regard to his Majesty's speech, than what had been common upon former occasions of the same kind; and that the speech of the King had never been considered in any other light than that of the minister, and had always been treated with equal freedom. But these arguments were easily refuted by a reference to the libel itself, which far surpassed, in the vulgarity of its abuse, and the grossness of its scurrilous reflections on the King's probity, as well as his person, the most daring invectives that had ever been uttered against government. It was therefore resolved by a majority of 273 against 111, "That the paper entitled the North Briton, No. XLV, is a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, containing expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards his Majesty, the grossest aspersions upon both Houses of Parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the whole legislature; and most manifestly tending to alienate the affections of the people from his Majesty, to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws of the realm, and to excite them to traiterous insurrections." In consequence of this resolution, an order was agreed to by the House, that the said paper should be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Wilkes, who had several times stood up, being now admitted to speak, complained to the House of breach of privilege, by the imprisonment of his person, the plundering of his house, the seizure of his papers, and the serving him with a subpœna upon an information in the court of

King's Bench. As no legal conviction yet lay against Wilkes, of his being the author of the paper, his complaint was perfectly regular. A more particular hearing of it, and the farther consideration of the King's message, were adjourned to the 23d of November.

Though the Commons met on the 16th, 17th, and 18th, they did very little business, on account of the speaker's indisposition, except that of preparing an address of thanks to the King for his speech, which included the congratulations of the House on the auspicious birth of another Prince, and on the Queen's happy recovery. The clause relating to the licentious spirit of the times passed without any division. On the 23d of November, the adjourned consideration of his Majesty's message of the 15th was resumed, and a motion was made, "That privilege of Parliament does not extend to the case of writing and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the laws, in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so heinous and dangerous an offence." As this resolution tended to confine within narrower limits the supposed privileges of every member of the legislature, and was also diametrically opposite to the late determination of the court of Common Pleas, the ministry were deserted by a few of their usual supporters, and the opposition made a vigorous, though finally ineffectual stand against it. Mr. Pitt exerted himself with extraordinary ardour in this debate; and the extent of his conceptions, the acuteness of his remarks, and the powers of his eloquence, left very little to be said by any other person on the same side of the question. He represented the motion as highly dangerous to the freedom of Parliament, and an infringement on the rights of the people. No man, he said, could condemn the paper or libel

more than he did ; but he would come at the author fairly,—not by an open breach of the constitution, and a contempt of all restraint. The proposed sacrifice of privilege was putting every member of Parliament, who did not vote with the minister, under a perpetual terror of imprisonment. To talk of an abuse of privilege, was to talk against the constitution, against the very being and life of Parliament. It was an arraignment of the justice and honour of Parliament, to suppose that they would protect any criminal whatever. Whenever a complaint was made against any member, the House could give him up. This privilege had never been abused : it had been reposed in Parliament for ages, but take it away, and the whole Parliament is laid at the mercy of the crown. With respect to the paper itself, the House had already voted it a libel—he joined in that vote. He condemned the whole series of North Britons : calling them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable. He abhorred all national reflections. The King's subjects, he said, were one people. Whoever divided them was guilty of sedition. The author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species—he was the blasphemer of his God and the libeller of his King. The dignity, the honour of Parliament had been called upon to support and protect the purity of his Majesty's character; and this they had done by a strong and decisive condemnation of the libel which his Majesty had submitted to the consideration of the House. But having done this, it was neither consistent with the honour and safety of Parliament, nor with the rights and interests of the people, to go one step farther. The rest belonged to the courts below. The other arguments made use of by the opposers of the resolution were little more than repetitions of the doctrine so lately confirmed by the court of King's Bench ; that the pri-

vilege of Parliament extended to all cases, except treason, felony, and those offences in which sureties of the peace might be demanded; that libels were breaches of the peace only by inference, and that this doctrine was supported by the highest authorities.

With whatever plausibility and eloquence Mr. Pitt and his party endeavoured to support these opinions, the advocates for the motion established the contrary doctrine on every ground of popularity, liberty, law, precedent, and reason. They showed that a libel was not only productive of consequences injurious to the peace of individuals, but, in many cases, pregnant with danger to the safety of the commonwealth. They asserted, that the distinction between actual and constructive breaches of the peace was trifling and sophistical: that the question was concerning the nature and weight of the offence, and not the name by which it was called: that it would be ridiculous to allow a seditious libeller advantages which were denied to an ordinary breaker of the peace, when sedition was a crime of much greater guilt and importance than a menacing gesture, or even an actual assault: that the privilege of Parliament was a privilege of a civil nature, instituted to preserve the member from being distracted in his attention to the business of the nation, by litigations concerning his private property, but by no means to prove a protection for crimes. If, said they, this distinction of breaches of the peace were to hold, members of Parliament might not only libel public and private persons with impunity, but might, with the same impunity, commit many other misdemeanors and offences of the grossest nature, and the most destructive to morality and order; because they, as well as libels, are breaches of the peace but by construction, and in their consequence. If privi-

lege were of this nature, the freedom of the members would be the slavery of the subject, and the danger of the state. In reply to Mr. Pitt's grand argument, that no evil could arise from the continuance of the privilege in cases of libels, as *whenever a complaint was made against any member, the House could give him up,* they observed, that this remedy might come too late; for, as the offender could not be arrested, and held to bail, he might easily escape by the length of time necessary to be taken in that mode of process, and by the public nature of the complaint. Besides, this argument, if at all admitted, would prove too much: the same reasoning might hold in treason, felony, and actual breaches of the peace. No doubt, either House of Parliament would, on complaint, deliver up their members charged with such offences; yet, it was allowed, that the privilege neither did, nor ought to cover them: and no one criminal seemed more within the reason of privilege than another.

Such were some of the chief points insisted on by those who justified the proposed resolution; and the debate being adjourned till next day, in complaisance to the speaker, the question was carried by a majority of 125; and the Lords, in a few days after, agreed to the resolution, though not without a more obstinate and violent struggle than even that which had taken place in the Commons. The speech of Lord Lyttleton in support of the measure, though perhaps less ardent than Mr. Pitt's, has generally been deemed more convincing and unanswerable. The privilege, he said, was, in effect, setting up a kingdom within a kingdom. Something like it he remembered to have been claimed by the clergy in the darkest ages of ignorance and popish superstition. They said their persons were privileged: no process from the King's courts ought to go out against them; but, if any clergyman was accused

of any heinous misdemeanor, application might be made to the spiritual court: there the cause might be tried: and, if that court found him guilty, he would be deprived of his orders; after which, being no member of their sacred body, the justice of the kingdom might take hold of him; but not before. This proposition appeared so monstrous, that even those times would not bear it. In the course of his speech his lordship remarked, in allusion to the existing state of the country, that if a foreigner were to take his ideas of England from the printed libels on both sides, he would think we had no government, no law, no God. In addition to the resolutions, their lordships also concurred in an address to the King, which was drawn up in terms of such warm affection for his Majesty's person and government, that it was evident the two Houses meant it a mark of their detestation of such scandalous writings, and as a proof to all Europe that their sentiments and those of the ministry were exactly the same in this particular.

Though both Houses of Parliament had resolved that no plea of privilege should obstruct the regular course of justice in matters of such high concern to the public, and had also ordered the North Briton, No. XLV, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman; yet, when this order was on the point of being executed at the Royal Exchange, under the immediate direction of the city sheriffs, Harley and Blunt, the mob became so riotous as to rescue the paper from the executioner before it was consumed, to pelt the constables and other peace-officers with filth and dirt, and to fling a billet snatched from the fire at the foreglass of Mr. Harley's chariot, in consequence of which he was slightly wounded. This riot being reported to the Lords and Commons, they took up the matter with becoming seriousness; and resolved, after the Lords

had examined Mr. Harley, that the rioters were perturbators of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of this country, and obstructors of the national justice. The sheriffs, at the same time, had the thanks of Parliament for their spirited conduct on the occasion; and both Houses joined in an address to his Majesty, that he would give directions for the discovery of the rioters.

After these steps, taken by the whole legislative body, to brand the libel itself with the strongest marks of their abhorrence, the Commons proceeded in the complaint against Wilkes as the author of it. But their earnestness in the prosecution was for some time checked by an accident, which, though perilous to Wilkes, proved very useful to his party, by keeping the hopes and spirit of the mob alive, which would probably have expired under an early and final decision of the House against him. In the first day's debate on the King's message respecting the libel, Samuel Martin, member for Camelford, and late firstsecretary of the treasury, whose character had been virulently attacked in some of the early numbers of the North Briton, remarked, *that the author of those papers was a malignant and infamous coward.* When the House was up, Wilkes sent a note to Martin, acknowledging himself the author. A duel with pistols ensued, in which Wilkes was so dangerously wounded, that he could not appear in the House of Commons, when the matter of his complaint was to be heard. He therefore, in a letter to the speaker, requested that the farther consideration of his case might be deferred until he was able to attend.

During this delay of the direct proceedings of the Commons against Wilkes, they received another message from the King on a more agreeable subject, informing them that his Majesty having received proposals for a marriage between the Princess Au-

gusta and the hereditary Prince of Brunswick, had agreed to the same; and as he could not doubt but that such an alliance would be to the general satisfaction of all his subjects, he promised himself the assistance of that House, to enable him to give his eldest sister a portion suitable to the honour and dignity of the crown. The hereditary Prince, though remarkably unfortunate in several enterprises during the war, had acquired a very high reputation both for courage and conduct, and had particularly endeared himself to the people of England, by his always expressing the strongest regard for the British troops, to whom he never failed to give the preference. The Commons, therefore, as well as the Lords, unanimously resolved to present an address of thanks to the King for this gracious message, and to declare their entire satisfaction at the prospect of an alliance with so illustrious a Protestant family, which had so signally distinguished itself in the defence of the liberties of Europe. The Commons also assured his Majesty, that they would enter into the immediate consideration of this important affair. The address was presented by the whole House; and they voted 80,000*l.* as a dowry to her Royal Highness. The Prince arrived in England the 12th of January following: the nuptials were celebrated on the evening of the 16th in the most splendid manner; and after passing some days in festivities, their highnesses set out for the continent on the 26th.

Wilkes, though confined by his wound, and almost deserted by his party in both Houses of Parliament, revived the drooping spirits of the populace by an effort of another kind, which was crowned with temporary success. Encouraged by the verdicts which had been given in favour of several persons taken up, like himself, on general warrants, he commenced an action in the court of Common Pleas, against

Robert Wood, late under secretary of state, for seizing his papers; and on the 6th of December, after a hearing of near fifteen hours, before Lord Chief-Justice Pratt, and a special jury, he obtained a verdict with 1000*l.* damages, and costs of suit. On this occasion, the judge, in his charge to the jury, pronounced the warrant, under which Wilkes had been apprehended, *unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void;* but he also declared, that he was far from wishing a matter of such consequence to rest solely on his opinion, as he was only one of the twelve judges, and as there was also a still higher court, before which the question might be canvassed. If, said he, these higher jurisdictions should declare my opinion erroneous, I submit, as will become me, and kiss the rod: but I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain. It is but justice to so truly respectable a character to observe, in contradiction to the insinuations at that time thrown out, that this opinion was not tinctured with party spirit, nor influenced by party attachments. It was the result of the most profound knowledge, and of the fullest conviction. It was the very opinion which this great lawyer, when attorney-general, had stated to Mr. Pitt, who was at that time secretary of state, and who, notwithstanding his learned friend's declaration, thought himself justified, by the practice of office, and by the exigency of the occasion, in having recourse to such extraordinary acts of power. His lordship acquired great popularity by his decision on the illegality of general warrants. The corporations of London, Dublin, and other communities, voted him their freedom, and the seal of royal approbation was soon after affixed, being created a peer of the realm by the title of Earl Camden.

The gentlemen in the opposition considered this decision as a matter of great triumph, which they

endeavoured to improve by an incident that happened on the night the verdict was obtained. One Dunn, a Scotchman, and a lunatic, having been overheard to make use of some threatening expressions against Wilkes, the latter was apprized of them; and Dunn next morning making an effort to get into the house of Wilkes, whose wound still confined him to his room, he was seized upon, and disarmed of a penknife, with which it was said he intended to assassinate him. Dunn was taken into custody, and carried next morning before one of the judges. A complaint was also exhibited against him in the House of Commons, who thereupon ordered the tipstaff to bring him to the bar, and the witnesses against him to attend at the same time. But the House soon received such proofs of his insanity, as engaged them to discharge him from any farther appearance, and to leave him to the course of common law, by which he was for some time committed to prison for want of bail. But notwithstanding the indisputable evidence of his madness, the party still continued to affirm that he had been employed to murder Wilkes; and so strong were the prejudices and infatuation of the mob at that juncture, that they could see no absurdity in the grossest falsehoods, because the maniac happened to be a Scotchman.

On the 16th of December, the House of Commons, being tired out by repeated delays of Wilkes's appearance on account of his wound, and suspecting that there might be some collusion between him and such of the faculty as attended him, made an order that a physician and a surgeon, Doctor Heberden and Mr. Hawkins, should observe the progress of his cure, and report their opinion to the House. Wilkes declined to admit them; but, in justification of his own medical attendants, sent for Doctor Duncan and Mr. Middleton, two surgeons of his Majesty's

household, observing, in his usual strain of sarcastic humour, that, as the House of Commons thought it proper he should be watched, he himself thought two Scotchmen most proper for his spies. On the 20th of December the House adjourned during the Christmas holidays, and on the 24th he suddenly found himself well enough to set out for France, on a visit to his daughter, who, he said, was dangerously ill at Paris. The truth is, that Wilkes, very justly intimidated by the decision of all the preliminary questions relative to his case; by the sentence passed on his seditious libel; by a consciousness, that in the course of the prosecution shocking proofs would appear of his profligacy and irreligion, his disregard of the laws of God, as well as of the laws of well-regulated society, and that no party could any longer espouse so infamous a cause; seized the present opportunity, afforded him by the adjournment of the Commons, to make his escape.

During the recess, several of Wilkes's friends asserted that he would attend the House on the 19th of January, 1764, the last day fixed for his appearance, but when that day arrived, the speaker produced a letter he had received by the post from Paris, stating the impossibility of his attending his duty in Parliament at the time required, with a paper enclosed, purporting to be a certificate of one of the French King's physicians, and of a surgeon of the French army, relating to the state of his health, but not authenticated in any manner. Those papers being read, some medical gentlemen, who attended according to order, were called in and interrogated at the bar. It appeared by their testimony, that Wilkes had refused to admit surgeons appointed by that House to examine into the state of his wound; and his retreat into France indicating only a distrust of his cause, the House resolved, that in so doing he was guilty of a contempt of their authority, and that

they would therefore proceed to hear the evidence in support of the charge against him. They considered the apology he had sent for his non-appearance, with the certificate that accompanied it, as quite nugatory. If his wound had been in the condition in which he represented it, a journey to Paris was a strange measure; and the consequences arose from his own voluntary act. After the examination of the witnesses had been entered upon by the House, repeated efforts were made by a few of his friends to procure an adjournment to no purpose. His expulsion was voted by a very considerable majority, and a new writ was ordered for electing another member for Aylesbury in his room.

To complete the degradation of this late idol of the populace, a book, entitled an Essay on Woman, which he had privately printed and dispersed amongst his friends, was presented by one of the secretaries of state to the House of Lords. This book, full of the most indecent and profane ribaldry, reflected on the character of a right reverend member of that House, by scurrilously affixing thereto, the name of Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, whose erudition and genius added dignity and lustre to his high station. The Peers proceeded against the author for a breach of privilege, while he was indicted in the courts below for blasphemy. The warmest of his former advocates were now ashamed to utter a word in his favour; and even the mob, though they could forgive party malice, were shocked at offences against morality, religion, and common decency. Mr. Wilkes was soon run to an outlawry for not appearing to the indictments against him; and the suits which he had carried on against the secretaries of state fell of course to the ground.

So far the triumph of the ministry was complete; sentence was passed on the cause, as well as on the person of their most malignant slanderer; but they

were soon attacked on a point, which could hardly be defended by the utmost exertions of their strength and influence. On the 14th of February, a motion was made in the House of Commons, "that a general warrant for apprehending and seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, together with their papers, was not warranted by law." Had not this motion been evidently dictated by a wish to render the late conduct of the ministry odious, and to screen Mr. Pitt from the like censure, it could not have met with any plausible resistance. The friends of administration were far from vindicating the practice of general warrants; but they thought that the abuse of them could not be effectually prevented by a resolution of one branch of the legislature on a single case, and that the remedy should be provided by an act of Parliament, distinguishing cases, and specifying those discretionary powers, which the contingent exigencies of government might require to be vested in a secretary of state. They also insisted very strongly on the impropriety of deciding in the House of Commons a question then depending in a court of judicature, and having, by a small majority, procured an adjournment of the question till the 17th, a very long and warm debate ensued, after which it was carried, that the farther consideration of the question should be adjourned for four months, which was, in the usual phrase, civilly dismissing it. The minority, however, on this point was so very considerable, being 220 against 234, that the ministry may rather be said to have escaped than conquered. The whole fabric of their power seemed to be shook by this contest; but the progress of the session showed that the formidable numbers of their opponents were mustered only on this single occasion.

The new scheme of the supplies met with the most perfect acquiescence. Ministers now resolved

neither to open a loan, nor to have recourse to a lottery. The objects to which they confined their attention were, first, the settlement of exchequer bills to the amount of 1,800,000*l.* which had been issued by virtue of an act passed in the preceding year, and then made chargeable on the first aids to be granted in the present session; secondly, the discharge of 2,000,000*l.* of a debt contracted on account of the war, and which still remained to be satisfied; and, thirdly, the ways and means for the service of the ensuing year. As the bank contract was to be renewed, the treasury, availing itself of so favourable a conjuncture, stipulated that this body should take 1,000,000*l.* of the exchequer bills for two years, at an interest reduced by one-fourth, and should also pay a fine, on the renewal, of 110,000*l.* This was certainly the most beneficial contract ever before made with that corporation. They also brought to the service of the nation 723,000*l.*, the produce of the French prizes taken before the declaration of war; and, what had been long neglected, to the detriment of the service, and the reproach of former administrations, the saving on the non-effective men, amounting to 140,000*l.* With these resources, with the land-tax now grown into a settled and permanent revenue of 4*s.* in the pound, with the duty upon malt, with 2,000,000*l.* taken from the sinking fund, being the overplus of that fund, joined to some other savings, they paid off the before-mentioned debt, and provided for the current service of all its establishments and contingencies. They justified their employment of the overplus of the sinking fund by former precedents, by the propriety and wisdom of the measure itself, but principally on the credit of having augmented it by near 400,000*l.* in the single article of tea, an immense quantity of which had been brought to pay duty by the prudent measures

taken for the prevention of smuggling, and the vigilant collection of the revenue.

Among the ways and means of this session were some regulations of the American trade, and some duties imposed on various articles of import and export in that extensive sphere of commerce, which, though they occasioned but little debate at the time, proved very soon afterwards a source of the most violent contests, and gradually led to all the horrors and calamities of a civil war. On the 10th of March the House of Commons agreed to several resolutions respecting certain new duties on foreign goods imported into the British colonies in America, and on certain articles of export, the produce of which was to be paid into the receipt of his Majesty's exchequer, and there reserved, to be from time to time disposed of by Parliament, towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America. One of these resolutions, however, which stated, that towards farther defraying the said expenses it might be proper to charge certain stamp duties in the said colonies and plantations, was of such importance that the execution of it was postponed to the next session, in order to give the colonies an opportunity of petitioning against it, should they deem it exceptionable, and of offering some equivalent for the supposed produce of such a tax. Among the other measures adopted in the same session, was a bill for restraining the increase of paper money in the colonies, by declaring that any such paper which might be in future issued there, should not be considered as a legal tender in payment. It is remarkable, that all those measures, many of which were extremely delicate and hazardous, were proposed, acquiesced in, and passed into laws without animadversion, as if the leaders of

party, who had been so clamorous about trifles, anticipated with silent joy the fatal issue of such experiments, and looked upon them as the probable means of introducing themselves into power, even through the distresses and convulsions of the whole empire.

Among the bills prepared for the royal assent at the close of the session on the 18th of April, was one which had for its object the increase of the revenue of the post-office, by correcting and restraining abuses and frauds in the practice of franking. It appeared that the most obscure persons had carried on a sort of trade by counterfeiting the hands of the members of Parliament, and selling the covers so franked in public, without the least fear of detection. The practice, likewise, of directing letters to members of Parliament, to places where they did not reside, in order to convey them to other persons free from postage, was become extremely frequent. But the abuse was carried to a still greater extent by the clerks of the post-office and other public offices, who, under colour of a prescriptive right or privilege, franked more letters, newspapers, and packets, than all the members of the legislature. It was proved before the committee, that many of the clerks of the post-office made from 800*l.* to 1200*l.* a year each by his privilege; it therefore became necessary for a government which valued itself upon economy, to check those abuses. It was made felony and transportation for seven years to forge a frank. No letters or packets were to be exempted from postage except such as were sent to or from the King; or such as, not exceeding two ounces in weight, should be signed on the outside by a member of either House, the whole of the superscription being his own writing, or such as should be directed to him at his usual or actual place of residence, or at either House of Parlia-

ment. The allowance of sending and receiving letters and packets free of the duty of postage, heretofore enjoyed by certain persons in respect of their offices, was subjected to a variety of restrictions, so as to confine the privilege to what concerned official business only: and with regard to newspapers and the printed votes and proceedings in Parliament, they were to go free, if sent without covers, or in covers open at the sides, and signed by a member, or directed to one, or franked by any of the licensed clerks in the offices of the secretaries of state, or the post-office. This last privilege was continued to the clerks as before, because it was found to encourage an immense consumption of stamps; and by way of check on the abuse of it, the post-master's officers were at liberty to search all such packets, and if they found the same to contain any written matter, to charge the postage.

A temporary expedient to counteract the artificial enhancement of the prices of provisions, which had lately become so alarming as to require the interference of the legislature, also received the royal assent. Some of the most considerable butchers and ship-victuallers in and about London were ordered to attend a committee of the House of Commons in March; and their evidence put it beyond a doubt that beef was then one halfpenny in the pound dearer than it had generally been at that time of the year, and that the price was even higher than in the heat of the late war. The butchers also admitted the price of mutton to be higher than was usual in March; but they stated the increase differently, from a farthing to a halfpenny per pound. In order to discover the causes of such an increase of price in a time of profound peace, and after plentiful harvests, some salesmen were examined, who alleged, first, the vast increase of population within the bills of mortality, which had rendered

the demand for provisions excessive. This account not being satisfactory, they pretended that the rise was owing to the late scarcity of pork in the markets, which had necessarily increased the price of every other species of animal food; the whole demand acting upon the whole quantity of the different sorts of provisions as upon one and the same subject. They added also, that the wetness of the season, the late failure of the turnip crops, and the scarcity of fodder at a former period, operating with other natural causes, had reduced the quantity of fat cattle, by discouraging the farmers from rearing them. But none of these reasons appeared sufficient to account for the evil complained of; and the result of the inquiry was, that the scarcity was artificial, and owing to combinations, and to the defect of the laws regulating the sale of cattle in the open markets. It was proved that a few engrossers bought up large quantities of sheep and oxen on the road to the market, and thereby fixed the price for that day; while others, by a different species of monopoly, bought great numbers of cattle, and, after slaughter, put what price they pleased upon them to the retail butchers: so that provisions of this sort were in fact doubly forestalled. It was evident that the scarcity did not arise from the want of fat cattle, and that those practices were confined to the London markets, because, when all kinds of meat were so very dear in London, beef, mutton, and veal, sold at a very reasonable price within thirty miles of the metropolis. Notwithstanding the great attention paid by the Commons to this important affair, the only remedy for the evil which then seemed most advisable was a bill for enabling his Majesty, with the advice of his privy council, to order the free importation of provisions from Ireland, during the recess of Parliament, or as the necessity of the time might require. This step was

taken the ensuing winter; and vigorous measures were also pursued for terrifying and bringing to justice any persons concerned in those illegal combinations and monopolies.

But a matter of very serious concern, which had been earnestly recommended to the attention of the House of Commons by one of its own committees in the beginning of the year 1763, seemed to be totally forgotten both by the ministry and the opposition, to the great astonishment of the humane part of the public. This was the regulation of private madhouses, in which the most shocking abuses had been found to prevail. The committee appointed to inquire into this evil found that many of the private madhouses, in the neighbourhood of London, were no other than places of correction and imprisonment for persons, whose relations were interested in secluding them from all commerce with the world. Wives were shut up at the request of their husbands; and drunkenness, or any frivolous pretence was a sufficient cause for one person to imprison another; to debar him from all access to pen, ink, and paper; and deny him to his dearest friends, if any inquiry was made at the place of confinement. In short, all were received, who were taken to those private bridewells, on security being given for the payment of a stipulated sum; and even in cases where it was not pretended that the prisoners were lunatics, they were treated as such. Those, and other circumstances equally detestable, were fully made out before the committee, who heard them with the deepest concern and indignation. They made their report to the House on the 22d of February, 1763: a bill was brought in for the correction of such enormities: and every feeling heart indulged the fond hope, that in the next session at farthest, some effectual measures would be taken, not only for preventing the like abuses

for the future, but for bringing the delinquents to condign punishment for what had passed. The session, however, closed without any notice being taken of this business in either House.

The speech with which his Majesty closed this session, contained the usual return of thanks to both Houses for their wise and public spirited exertions; a renewal of the assurances which his Majesty continued to receive of the pacific sentiments of foreign powers; and an exhortation to employ this season of tranquillity in considering of the most effectual means for perfecting the works of peace, so happily begun. Thus ended the parliamentary campaign for this season; and the ministry, to whose duration a very short date had been assigned by their adversaries, not only weathered the storms of the session, but seemed to gather new strength to contend with future tempests. In the moment of triumph, and of indignation also, at those who had deserted them in the hour of greatest danger, they showed their power and resentment, perhaps too indiscreetly, by dismissing some persons of high military rank from the service, and among the rest, Lieutenant-general Conway, an officer of distinguished merit and abilities. So harsh a step admitted, however, of some little excuse. In the debate on general warrants, the division in the Commons ran so near, as before observed, that the ministry carried the question only by a majority of fourteen. Had it been decided in favour of the opposition, the Monument was to have been illuminated in the same manner as in the year 1732, when the famous excise scheme was defeated; and the greatest testimonies of public joy were to have been displayed. Preparations for those purposes having been openly made, were considered as so many insults upon government; and however the zeal of the citizens or of the uninformed populace

might influence them, it was thought indecent in any of the King's servants to countenance such proceedings. The general officer already mentioned was represented as being an important acquisition to the minority, and was charged with not only voting against the court in the debate on general warrants, but with speaking in the most disrespectful terms of the minister's person and capacity for business. The general and his friends very properly insisted upon his being as independent as any other gentleman in the House of Commons, and the ministry were far from disputing that principle; but the King, they said, ought to have an equal freedom in employing whom he pleased in the departments that were in his disposal.

## CHAPTER VI.

*State of the British acquisitions in America—Rupture with the Native Indians—Hostile operations—Peace concluded—New regulations to prevent smuggling greatly injurious to the general trade and prosperity of the Colonies—Dissatisfaction of the Americans—Meeting of Parliament—Apprehensions of a war with France and Spain removed—Election of a King of Poland—Colonial taxation—The sovereignty of the Isle of Man purchased by government—Indisposition of the King, and Regency Bill—Riot of the silk-weavers—Dismissal of some of the Earl of Bute's friends—Parliament prorogued—Change in the ministry—Death of the Duke of Cumberland and of Prince Frederic William—Birth of the Duke of Clarence—Death of the Chevalier de St. George—Mir Cossim endeavours to shake off the India Company's yoke—Concludes a treaty with Governor Vansittart, which is disavowed by the council, who proclaim Mir Jaffier subah of Bengal, and commence hostilities against Mir Cossim—Various operations of the war—Lord Clive's re-appointment, with a select committee—Death of Mir Jaffier, and terms prescribed to his successor—Disputes respecting presents—Lord Clive repairs to the army—Treaty with Sujah Doula—Violent opposition to the Stamp Act in America—Consequent embarrassment of the ministry—Meeting of Parliament—Motion for papers—Petitions against American taxation—Dr. Franklin—Repeal of the Stamp Act and rejoicings thereon—Popularity of other measures adopted by the Marquis of Rockingham's administration—Sudden changes in the ministry—Mr. Pitt created Earl of Chatham.*

THE renewal of hostilities on the part of the savages in America was noticed in the beginning of the last chapter, but the details were postponed on account of the more immediate and interesting pressure of domestic occurrences. By the fourth and seventh articles of the treaty of peace, Canada was ceded to Great Britain in its utmost extent. This stretched the northern part of her possessions on the continent of America from one ocean to the other. The cession of Louisiana to the Mississippi, and of the Spanish Florida on both seas, made her American empire complete. The only care which seemed left for Great Britain, was to render these acquisitions as beneficial in traffic, as they were extensive in territory. An immense waste of uncultivated country was evidently no great object to a mercantile nation for the present; but it was a considerable one in hope, because it contained an infinite variety of soils, climates, and situations, and thereby afforded ample materials for the exertion of wealth and skill in its improvement to all the purposes of trade. In order to come at an exact knowledge of every thing necessary for this purpose, it was judged expedient to divide the new acquisitions on the continent into three separate and independent governments. The first and most northerly of these divisions was called the government of Quebec, the limitation of which within narrower boundaries than those formerly assigned by the French to Canada, excited some surprise, and no inconsiderable clamour at home. The southern divisions were more easily adjusted, as the two provinces of East and West Florida were regularly parted by the river Apalachicola. The government of Quebec was given to the Honourable James Murray, that of the East Florida to James Grant, Esq. and that of West Florida, to George Johnstone, Esq. all of them officers who had eminently distinguished

themselves in making those conquests, the security and improvement of which were now intrusted to their care. The coast of Labrador from the river St. John to Hudson's Straits, and all the neighbouring islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence, were subjected to the authority and inspection of the governor of Newfoundland, their value depending wholly on the fishery. The islands of St. John and Cape Breton were annexed, as their situation required, to Nova Scotia.

This distribution of the newly acquired territories was no sooner announced to the public, in a royal proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, than a violent outcry was raised against it; the largest, and, perhaps, the most improvable part of the late conquests not being included within the boundaries of any of the proposed governments. Most people were, indeed, astonished to find, that the environs of the great lakes, the fine countries on the whole course of the Ohio and Ouabache, and almost all that tract of Louisiana which lies on the hither branch of the Mississippi, were left out, and, as it were, disregarded in this boasted plan of territorial regulation. But the ministry had many reasons for such an apparent omission, among which a consideration of the Indians carried with it no small weight, because it might have given a sensible alarm to that people, if they had seen their whole country cantoned out into regular establishments. It was in this idea that the proclamation strictly forbade any purchases or settlements beyond the limits of the three beforementioned governments, or any extension of the old colonies beyond the heads of the rivers which fall from the westward into the Atlantic Ocean; reserving expressly all the territories behind as hunting ground for the Indians. That the ministry were not guilty of any blameable neglect, is evident from their earnest attention to the improvement of those

parts which they could perfectly command. In order to invite soldiers and seamen, who had served in the American war, to settle in the country they had conquered, lots of land were offered to them as the reward of their services, and in proportion to the rank they held in the army or navy. Every field officer was to have 5000 acres, every captain 3000, every subaltern 2000, every non-commissioned officer 200, and every private soldier or seaman fifty.

Though the most prudent steps were taken, to avoid giving offence to the Indians on the one hand, and to intimidate their ferocity on the other, they suddenly fell upon the frontiers of the most valuable settlements with such an unanimity in the design, and such persevering fury in the attack, as had not been experienced even in the hottest times of any former war. Various causes concurred to urge them on to this very unexpected violence. When they saw the French power annihilated, they began to imagine that they ought to have made greater and earlier efforts in favour of their old friends, of whom they had not been for a long time so jealous as of the English. The French seemed more intent on trade than settlement; finding themselves infinitely weaker than the English, they paid a much more flattering and systematical attention to the Indians. The English treated the savages at all times with too much indifference, but more especially since the close of the French war. The usual presents were omitted. Contrary to the intentions of government, settlements were attempted beyond the just limits. Purchases, indeed, were made of the lands, and sometimes fair ones. But the Indians, conscious of the weakness and facility of their own character in all dealings, have often considered a purchase and an invasion as nearly the same thing. They were also alarmed at seeing all the places of strength in the possession of the British troops,

and a chain of forts drawn round the best hunting country they had left. It was therefore very natural for them to look upon every garrison as the first advances of an encroaching colony; and a report having been spread amongst them that a scheme was formed for their entire extirpation, they did not hesitate a moment longer to take up the hatchet. The Delawars and Shawanese, who, as the cultivation of Pennsylvania advanced, had retired, and settled upon the Ohio, confederated with the other tribes whom they found scattered along that river, behind the Allegany mountains, to join in the proposed attack on the British forts and colonies. These must have been in the most imminent danger, had all the savages been unanimous on this occasion; but the most temperate and considerable part of the five nations were kept out of the war by the indefatigable pains of Sir William Johnson; and the Cherokees had still such an impression of their late chastisement, that they were afraid to provoke a repetition of the like severities.

When the Indians had resolved to take the field, their scheme was to make a general and sudden attack upon the British back-settlers, while they were getting in their harvest; and after having murdered all they could meet with, to destroy the crops, that no subsistence could remain for those who escaped. The precipitancy of some of their warriors defeated in part the more methodical and considerate mischief of the rest; and by giving an early alarm, afforded some of the planters an opportunity of escaping with their effects: great numbers were, nevertheless, cut off, the crops ruined, and their houses burned, with all that detail of savage cruelty with which an Indian war is always carried on. They made themselves masters of all the small posts between Pittsburgh and Lake Erie; but three posts of considerable strength still

remained to check their incursions, Detroit, Niagara, and fort Pitt. General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, sensible of the danger to which all the British conquests were exposed by the sudden breaking out of this war, sent out detachments as early as possible to strengthen the chief posts. Detroit was the first, where a plan for surprising the savages in their camp, which was about three miles from the fort, was unsuccessful, the Indians having been apprized of the design. The ill success of this attempt checked all farther offensive measures on the part of the garrison. As the enemy were unprovided with cannon, and ignorant also of the art of besieging or reducing fortified places, those savages could not improve the advantage they had gained; but though of so many different nations, and separated by such immense tracts of impracticable country, they preserved an uncommon degree of concert and connexion in all their enterprises; when one party of them was foiled near Detroit, another more formidable body invested fort Pitt, more than 200 miles from the former place. The building of this fort, which was originally called fort du Quesne by the French, had given the immediate occasion to the late war; and was now likely to become the main object of another very dreadful contest. Its works had never been well finished, and the commander was weak in the number of his troops, without engines, and ill supplied with every necessary for sustaining a siege; he, however, took all the precautions in his power for the repair of the place, and for repulsing the enemy. These savages, being destitute of all means of making regular approaches, took post under the banks of the rivers, close to the fort, and burying themselves in holes for days together, poured in an incessant storm of musketry and fire arrows. They hoped to reduce the garrison by

keeping it perpetually harassed; and if they failed in this method, they trusted to make themselves masters of the place by famine. In the mean time General Amherst, fully persuaded, from the importance and situation of fort Pitt, that it would become one of the principal objects of savage fury, ordered Colonel Bouquet to march to its relief, with a large quantity of provisions and stores under a strong escort. The Indians immediately abandoned the blockade of the fort, in order to seize the first favourable opportunity of cutting off the intended reinforcement. Colonel Bouquet having advanced to the extreme verge of the British settlements, prudently resolved to disencumber himself of a considerable part of the ammunition and provisions, while he proceeded with such supplies as were absolutely necessary. Being thus disburdened, the English army entered a rough and mountainous country. Before them lay a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, several miles in length, commanded the whole way by high and craggy hills, which it was deemed advisable not to attempt passing but by night, to elude, if possible, the vigilance of their enemies. Just as the troops were preparing to refresh themselves, after a fatiguing march of seventeen miles, the Indians suddenly attacked the advanced guard, but were beat off, and pursued to a considerable distance; the moment the pursuit ceased, however, they returned to the charge with redoubled vigour; and, as soon as the savages were driven from one eminence, they occupied another, till, by constant reinforcements, they were able to surround the whole detachment. After an engagement, which was continued without any intermission from one o'clock in the afternoon till night, the savages were driven from all their posts with fixed bayonets. Above sixty of the English were killed or wounded; and as the ground on which they

stood was not ill adapted to an encampment, the convoy and the wounded were placed in the centre, and the troops encompassed the whole. In this manner they passed an anxious night, the enemy, notwithstanding this check, seeming to wait only for the morning to complete their destruction.

Those who have only experienced the severities of a campaign in Europe, can scarcely form an idea of what is to be endured in an American war. To act in a country cultivated and inhabited, where roads are made, magazines and hospitals provided; where there are strong towns to afford refuge in case of misfortune; or, at the worst, a generous enemy to yield to; this may be considered as a dispute between rivals for glory, rather than a struggle between sanguinary enemies; but in an American campaign, every object is terrible; the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There is no refreshment for the healthy, no relief for the sick or wounded. A vast inhospitable desert, unsafe and treacherous, extends on every side. Victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune that can befal a soldier. At the first dawn of light, in the morning of the 6th of August, the savages, under the favour of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate into the camp. They were repulsed in every attempt, but by no means discouraged from new ones; the British troops, continually victorious, were continually in danger. They were, besides, much fatigued, and distressed to the last degree by a want of water. Tied to their convoy, to pursue their march was impracticable, as many of their horses were lost, and many of the drivers, stupified by their fears, hid themselves in the bushes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders. Colonel Bouquet, seeing that all depended on bringing the savages to close engagement, and that, when

pressed, they always flew off in order to rally with the greater effect, formed a plan for giving new strength to their audacity, by making dispositions for an apparent retreat. The savages gave entirely into the snare, rushed from the woods which had hitherto concealed them, and hurrying on headlong with the utmost intrepidity, made for a little time a desperate stand, but were totally routed with great slaughter. The victorious army, notwithstanding this advantage, had suffered so much, that, before they could move, they were obliged to destroy the greatest part of their provisions, and consequently to give up one of the principal objects of their expedition. About two miles farther on, the savages made a slight attack, after which they suffered little molestation, and arrived at fort Pitt in four days from the action. Though the forts of Detroit and Pitt were thus secured by timely reinforcements, the Indians in other parts of the country were not discouraged from farther attempts. Niagara was a place equally worthy of their regard; and they endeavoured to distress it by every method which the meanness of their skill in attacking fortified places would permit. They chiefly directed their attention to the convoys, hoping to starve what they could not otherwise reduce, and the vast distance of the forts from each other materially favoured their design.

While the war was thus raging in the remoter parts of the colony, Sir William Johnson had applied himself with indefatigable zeal to secure the attachment of such of the Indians as had not yet commenced hostilities. For this purpose he opened conferences at the German Flats, in the beginning of September, with the six nations, and some others, who appeared desirous of continuing in quiet dependance upon England. They could not, however, prevent the Senecas and their allies

from continuing their depredations and massacres. Vigorous measures were therefore adopted to reduce these refractory savages to reason; and it was not till they severely felt the scourge of powerful vengeance, that the Senecas were induced to solicit peace. In the treaty concluded between them and Sir William Johnson, all occasions of future dispute were removed; their boundaries were precisely ascertained; their past transgressions were forgiven; and, in consequence of their solemn engagements never more to make war upon the English, or to suffer any of their people to commit any acts of violence on the persons or properties of any of his Britannic Majesty's subjects, they were not only admitted once more into the covenant chain of friendship, but were to be indulged with a free, fair, and open trade. This treaty took place in April, 1764; and one of the most considerable succours being thereby withdrawn from the other hostile tribes, they could not hold out much longer. Deputies from the several nations, engaged, by solemn treaty, to deliver up all the prisoners in their hands, and to renounce all claim to the posts and forts possessed in their country by the English, who should be at liberty to erect as many more as might be thought necessary for the security of their trade, with as much land to each fort, for raising provisions, as a cannon-shot can fly over. Some other conditions were added, tending to inspire the barbarians with a sense of humanity and justice, and to give them some idea of the English government.

But while the British government was thus taking the most effectual steps to secure the peaceful submission of the American savages, a spirit of much more dangerous resistance began to appear among its civilized subjects on the same continent. This was first excited by some attempts made to break off all kind of commercial intercourse between the

British colonies and the French and Spanish settlements. The trade was certainly illicit; but as many parts of it were highly beneficial to those who carried it on, and ultimately to the mother countries in Europe, every restraint ought to have been imposed with the utmost delicacy and caution. The orders sent out by the English ministry, after the conclusion of the peace, to the naval commanders in the West Indies, were too rigorous, or, at least, too liable to abuse. Under the idea of putting a total stop to smuggling, ships of war were converted into guarda-costas, and captains of the navy were obliged to take the usual custom-house oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers, although unacquainted with all those cases in which ships are, or are not liable to seizure, to penalty, or detention. The first branch of commerce which felt the weight of the blow was that which had been for a long time carried on between the British and Spanish plantations, to the great advantage of both, but especially the former, the chief materials of it being, on the side of the British colonies, British manufactures, or such of their own produce as enabled them to purchase those manufactures; and, on the part of the Spaniards, gold and silver in bullion and in coin, cochineal, and medicinal drugs, besides live stock and mules, with which the West India islands used to be supplied by the same channel, and which were still more necessary than the precious metals. Though this trade did not clash with the spirit of any of the prohibitory acts, yet it was found to vary from the letter of them sufficiently to afford the revenue officers a plea for doing that from duty, which they had strong temptations to do from motives of interest. Accordingly they seized, indiscriminately, all British as well as foreign ships engaged in that traffic, which the custom-house officers, stationed on shore, had al-

ways permitted to pass unnoticed. The same misfortune attended the trade carried on by the American colonies with the French West India islands, and which was no less lucrative than the former. Sound policy would rather have connived at such a resource, which not only prevented the North American colonies from being drained of their current cash by the calls of the mother country upon them, but afforded supplies of specie for the purposes of internal circulation.

In consequence of these prohibitions, which were for some time enforced by the naval officers with the utmost severity, not only all the contraband, but the fair and lawful trade of the Americans was threatened with ruin. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that the inhabitants of many of the colonies, being no longer able to make the usual remittances to the mother country for the customary supplies, began to turn their thoughts to retrenchment and industry; and renouncing all finery, came to a resolution not to buy any clothes, or other articles which they could possibly do without, that were not of their own manufacturing. Though the English ministry, on the first intimation of those grievances, immediately softened the rigour of their former orders, the Americans still complained, that the mode of restriction was only changed, and that the show of indulgence was rather an aggravation of their distresses. Their intercourse with the other European colonies, though now rendered in some respects legal, was loaded with such duties as became, in reality, prohibitions. They were, equally dissatisfied with being obliged to pay those duties, in specie, into the English exchequer, though it was expressly stated, that the money arising from them was to be reserved for defraying the charges of the colonies on which it was levied. But the object, against which the colonists raised the loudest clamour, was

the postponed intention of charging them with stamp duties. That measure had, as before intimated, been delayed by the minister till the sense of their several assemblies could be taken, how far they were willing to make a compensation in any other form, for the revenue that such a tax might produce. This was so uncommon an instance of condescension, that the agents for the colonies residing in London thought it their duty to wait upon him, and to return him thanks in the name of their constituents. He took that opportunity to inform them, that it was then in the power of the colonies, by agreeing to that tax, to establish a precedent for their being consulted for the future, before any tax was imposed upon them by the British Parliament, a proceeding which did not make a suitable impression on the minds of the Americans, prejudiced and irritated as they were by the late commercial restrictions. So far from complying, they resolved to remonstrate ; and some of their assemblies sent over petitions, to be presented to the King, Lords, and Commons, positively and directly questioning the authority and jurisdiction of Parliament over their properties. Even those provinces that were most moderate in their remonstrances, did not instruct their agents either to agree to the tax in question, or to offer any compensation to be exempted from it.

After a longer relief from public duty than the Parliament had for some years experienced, the session was opened on the 10th of January, 1765, with a speech from the throne, which embraced some topics of interest. "The courts of France and Spain," his Majesty said, "have given me fresh assurances of their good dispositions." A declaration of this kind from the throne was the more seasonable, as some apprehension of a war with the house of Bourbon was entertained, arising from some incidents in the course of last year. By

accounts received from the West Indies in June, it appeared, that, by an order from Don Remires, the Spanish governor of Jucatan, the English logwood cutters had been disturbed in their business, contrary to the last treaty, on the pretence of their having nothing to prove their being subjects to his Britannic Majesty, and also, that they had roved too freely about the country. Representations being made to the court of Madrid, the conduct of the governor was censured, and the logwood cutters immediately re-established. Another instance, which occurred about the same time, contributed further to create alarm. The commodore of some Spanish xebeques, that were cruising against the Algerines in the Mediterranean, attacked an English merchant ship, commanded by one Captain Sybrand, who immediately hoisted English colours; but having no guns on board, cried out for mercy. The Spaniards, however, continued their fire till the English ship was rendered almost a wreck; many of the crew were wounded; one of the passengers lost his arm; and the ship was carried into Carthagena. On the discovery of the mistake, into which the very unpardonable precipitancy of the Spanish commodore had hurried him, his Catholic Majesty defrayed the expense of curing the wounded English; indemnified their captain for the interruption of his voyage; and gave the passenger a gratification for the unfortunate loss of his arm.

Some proceedings of the French in the West Indies also increased the apprehensions of a war. At no great distance from the coast of Hispaniola are several small islands, the most considerable, or rather the least insignificant of which is called Turk's island, and gives its name to the rest. Though it is an uncomfortable barren spot, with very little fresh water, without any vegetables except low shrubs, or any animals except lizards, and

land-crabs; yet the coast abounds with fish, turtle, and sea-fowls; and the soil itself produces salt. As it was impossible for any settlement to subsist upon the island, the property of it remained undetermined: but the Burmudians, and other British subjects, used to resort thither annually in March, for the benefit of gathering salt in the dry season. Their manner of living was the most wretched that can well be conceived. They dwelt in huts covered with leaves: salt pork, and now and then a turtle or a lizard, was their food; and their dress consisted of a straw hat, a check shirt, and a pair of coarse linen trowsers. Their chief customers were the people of New England, who purchased the salt for their fisheries, at the rate of from fourpence to sixpence a bushel, and paid a small part in money, and the rest in bad rum, and worse provisions. Here was nothing to invite invasion, or rapine. Yet, on the 1st of June, the crews of a French seventy-four gun ship, and of two or three small vessels in company, landed on the island; plundered and burnt all the cabins that were erected there; and carried off the inhabitants, about 200 in number, with nine English vessels which they found off the coast, to cape François, where they released them next day, with orders not to return to Turk's island. The court of France, on representations being made by the Earl of Hertford, the English ambassador, disavowed the whole proceedings, and gave orders to the Count d'Estaigne, governor of St. Domingo, to cause the island to be immediately restored in the condition in which it was on the 1st of June. Even this did not silence the alarmists: a sloop of war, which had come from Newfoundland in the summer, having brought advice that the French marine on that station appeared formidable, and that some fears were entertained of their intention to fortify St. Peter's. Letters, however, were received at the

Admiralty, on the 2d of October, from Commodore Palliser, informing their lordships, that there were no buildings or works erected contrary to the treaty; and that the guard consisted of no more than forty-seven men, and had never exceeded fifty. To these proofs of the sincerity of France, another was added, in the proposals submitted to his Majesty, for the discharge of the balance due for the subsistence of French prisoners in the British dominions during the last war. The French ambassador was authorized to offer 670,000*l.* in acquittal of the whole demand, 130,000*l.* to be paid immediately, and the remainder at the rate of 40,000*l.* a quarter. These proposals being a few days after laid before Parliament, and approved, it must be confessed, that the disbursement of money from one rival state to another, did not look very like a preliminary step to a war between them.

Another affair to which his Majesty alluded in his speech, was the election of a King of Poland. The filling of that vacant throne had often been destructive to the repose of Europe; and upon the late occasion, while all the surrounding powers seemed ready to take a decisive part in it, so many strong domestic factions subsisted, that dangerous convulsions might well have been apprehended. On the death of the unfortunate Augustus the Third, the 5th of October, 1763, his eldest son and successor to his hereditary dominions in Saxony declared himself a candidate for his elective crown. The Empress-queen could not well avoid countenancing his pretentions, as the only means she had of making him amends for what his family had suffered in her cause. France and Spain, as connected with the house of Saxony, were likely to throw their interest into the same scale; but their favourite candidate was carried off by the small-pox in less than three months after his father, leaving a son too young to

engage in such a contest. Russia, Prussia, and Turkey were determined to raise a native of Poland to the throne, and, with this view an army of Russians entered the country, and approached Warsaw, while the Prussians appeared on one frontier, and a body of Turks assembled on the other. The person, whom they had solemnly recommended to the Poles, was Count Poniatowski, a man of illustrious family, and distinguished by his virtues and accomplishments. But though the death of the young elector of Saxony removed one competitor out of the way, and the Empress-queen, as well as France and Spain, saw the folly of attempting to set up another, two of Poniatowski's countrymen, Prince Radzivil, and Count Branitzki, the crown-general, opposed him with great violence, on very plausible, and not unpopular grounds. They did not oppose the election of a native, but contended that this election ought to be free; and they could not bear, that, under the name of preserving the liberty of Poland, a foreign army should openly dispose of its crown. But their efforts were unavailing: Prince Radzivil, who had raised an army of his own dependants, and who had also been joined by the Saxon party, was defeated by the Russian troops on the 3d of July, 1764; and Count Branitzki met with no better succees in another action. The declared opposers of Poniatowski being now obliged to fly the country, he ascended the throne, with the most auspicious appearances, on the 7th of September, by the name and titles of Stanislaus Augustus, King of Poland, and Grand Duke of Lithuania.

There was one paragraph in the speech from the throne, in which his Majesty expressed his reliance on the firmness and wisdom of Parliament, in promoting the proper respect and obedience due to the laws, and to the legislative authority of Great Britain. This question, it was said, had been much

better avoided, since such a debate could have no issue but what must prove highly prejudicial to the mother country, especially after an undisputed exercise of such authority. Decided in the affirmative, it must have tended to alienate the affections of the colonies; in the negative, to increase their presumption; and left undecided, to breed in them a complication of both those evils. But the truth is, that the sovereign authority of the British Parliament had been denied in the most positive terms by the colonies; and that, after they had sent over remonstrances asserting that the legislature had no right whatever to tax them, it would have betrayed the greatest weakness in the ministry to shrink from the establishment of that right, or to leave a matter of such importance in doubt. Before they were fully prepared, however, for the discussion of this subject, they were again attacked on the question of general warrants, an attempt being made in the House of Commons to procure a resolution against their legality, which was productive of a copious debate, but the decision of the point was eluded by the previous question, the majority in favour of ministers consisting only of forty.

The important topic of colonial taxation met with little delay, the attention of Parliament being soon called to the propriety of laying nearly the same stamp duties upon the British colonies in America as were payable in England. No less than fifty-five resolutions of the committee of ways and means, relative to that branch of the revenue, were agreed to by the House on the 7th of February; and were afterwards formed into a bill, which met with fewer checks or delays in its progress through both Houses than the most trifling measure which had been hitherto proposed by government. Petitions, indeed, as before intimated, had been sent over by several of the provincial assemblies, directly questioning

the jurisdiction of the British Parliament: but they were not suffered to be read in the House of Commons; nor did any member at that time stand forward to defend such pretensions. The gentlemen of the opposition were reproached with sneaking from the debate in the first stages of the business, as if they anticipated in silence the probable overthrow of the ministry from so dangerous an experiment. The clamour afterwards broke out with great violence when the act passed; when the mischief, according to their ideas, was done; and when they might hope to accomplish their own object, by inflaming the resistance of the Americans. Even the author of the celebrated letters under the signature of Junius, was forced to acknowledge this fact; and his testimony ought to have the greater weight, as being extorted, it may be said, from the lips of an unwilling evidence. "When," says he, "Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable, and, at the same time, of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade, and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire which had benefited most by the expenses of the war, should contribute something to the expenses of the peace; and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in Parliament to raise the contribution. But unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed, because he was minister; and Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies; and while, perhaps, they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other."

Whatever objections might have been very forci-

bly urged against the policy or expediency of imposing the stamp duties on the Americans, all at once, and at a time when they were very much irritated by the late restrictions of their trade, it cannot be denied, that Mr. Grenville's manner of bringing forward the measure was as temperate and candid, as the principles, on which the right of taxation was founded, were indisputable. The first and great principle of all government, and of all society is, that support is due in return for protection; that every subject should contribute to the common defence, in which his own is included. It was necessary, and it was just, to recur to this principle at the close of the war. It was found necessary to maintain upwards of 10,000 men for the defence of the colonies: an expense of between 300,000*l.* and 400,000*l.* annually was, on that account, to be incurred. It was just that the colonies, which had profited so much by the war; whose interests, commerce, and security had been the first objects of the peace; and of whose ability to bear at least some proportion of that new expense there was no reason to doubt, should contribute, not to support or to defend Great Britain, but about a third part of the expense necessary for their own defence and protection. Upon this general and acknowledged principle, and upon this application of it, which was just in itself, and which the situation of Great Britain rendered necessary, the stamp act was planned. The propriety of charging such duties in the colonies and plantations was first thrown into the form of a resolution; and though no farther proceedings upon the measure at that time took place, yet the merits of the question were opened at large. Those who afterwards so loudly asserted the privileges and exemptions of America, were then publicly called upon to deny, if they thought it fitting, the right of the legislature to

impose any tax, either internal or external, upon that country; and not a single person, as before observed, ventured to controvert that right. A year's delay, however, was given, that information might be received from America, with regard to the expediency of the particular tax proposed, not to permit the right of imposing it to be disputed. This distinction was clearly stated to the House of Commons, and afterwards explained to the agents of the provinces. But several of these provinces, little grateful for such indulgence, either directly treated the resolutions of the British legislature with the most indecent disrespect, or instructed their agents to present petitions, asserting the right of freedom from taxes imposed by Great Britain. Such petitions could not be heard, but were rejected without a division, when Mr. Grenville proposed, in order to mitigate matters, that the agents should join in a petition to the House, for their being heard by counsel in behalf of their respective colonies against the tax. But the agents did not think proper to avail themselves of this second instance of condescension: they imagined, perhaps, that the petitioning for a suspension of the bill, as a favour, might be deemed an acknowledgment, that their principals had no right to oppose the execution of it when passed into a law. The bill having gone through the usual forms, received the royal assent by commission, on the 22d of March; and the minister was not without hopes that the colonies would acquiesce in this act, particularly as the money arising from it was to be reserved for defraying the charge of their own protection, and as bounties were granted to encourage the importation of all kinds of timber from them, which would at least compensate in most parts of North America the operation of the stamp duty.

The number of cutters and other vessels, which

had been fitted out for the suppression of smuggling, were of the utmost service to the state, not only from the vast number of seizures they made, but as being so many provisions for naval officers on half-pay, and keeping up a body of seamen for the use of government. But they were not sufficient for the extinction of the evil. The Isle of Man, which was not subject to the custom-house laws, as not only the property but the sovereignty of it belonged to the Duke of Athol, lay so conveniently for the purpose of smuggling, that it defeated the utmost vigilance of government. So far back as the seventh and eighth years of the reign of George the First, acts of Parliament had been made for preventing such illegal and destructive practices; but without effect. A treaty was then entered into by government for purchasing the property of the island, or such a right over it, as might deprive the smugglers of the haunts and conveniences they had for carrying on their frauds. This expedient likewise proved ineffectual: it was easy to ascertain the real value of the island; but the price of relinquished sovereignty was not so susceptible of calculation. At length, on the second reading of a bill presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Grenville, for more effectually preventing the mischiefs arising to the revenue and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, from the illicit and clandestine trade to and from the Isle of Man, the Duke and Duchess of Athol presented a petition for liberty to be heard by counsel against it, the object of which was to obtain a proper compensation or equivalent for the surrender of their hereditary rights and title. An abstract of the revenue of the island for the last ten years, and the proposals of the duke and duchess in their correspondence with the commissioners of the treasury on the subject, were also laid before the House; and the re-

sult was, that on the 6th of March, two resolutions were agreed to, for vesting in the crown all rights, jurisdictions, and interests, in and over the said island and its dependencies, excepting what related to the landed property ; and for allowing the proprietors 70,000*l.* as a full compensation for those rights. The liberality of government went still farther, a pension being also settled on the duke and the duchess, during their lives, by way of douceur for the relinquishment of titular royalty.

Before the bills, founded on the above proceedings and resolutions of the Commons, could go through all the necessary stages, another matter of great national concern engaged public attention. Towards the spring of the year, his Majesty was attacked with an illness, which excited considerable alarm. Anxious, however, as the people might be for the life of their sovereign, he appears to have been equally so for their safety and welfare. The first day that his health would permit him to appear abroad, which was on the 24th of April, he repaired to Parliament, where, after giving his assent to the bills that were ready, he made a speech to both Houses, in which he told them, that his late indisposition, though not attended with danger, had led him to consider the situation in which his kingdoms and his family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to his life whilst his successor was of tender years; and had determined him to take the earliest opportunity of recommending to their most serious deliberation, the making such provision as would be necessary, in case any of his children should succeed to his throne before they should respectively attain the age of eighteen years. To this end, his Majesty proposed to their consideration, whether, under the present circumstances, it would not be expedient to vest in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by instrument in

writing, under his sign manual, either the Queen, or any other person of his royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of the person of such successor, and the regent of these kingdoms, until such successor should attain the age of eighteen years, subject to the like restrictions and regulations as were specified in the act made on occasion of his father's death; the regent so appointed to be assisted by a council, composed of the several persons, who, by reason of their dignities and offices, were constituted members of the council established by that act, together with those whom they might think proper to leave to his nomination. This speech having been answered, as soon as forms would admit, by a joint address from both Houses, the Lords ordered a bill to be brought in, conformable to his Majesty's recommendation: but when it came down to the Commons for their concurrence, it gave rise to very long debates, the clauses of it being so worded as to exclude the Princess-dowager of Wales from any share in the guardianship or regency, though, next to the Queen, it was most natural for his Majesty to wish his own mother invested with such trusts. An amendment was therefore carried by a majority of 167 against thirty-seven, for inserting the name of the Princess-dowager of Wales, next after that of the Queen; and the bill, so amended, being approved by the Lords, received the royal assent on the 15th of May.

Whilst this affair was under the consideration of the legislature, the journeymen silk-weavers of London, reinforced by those of the other trades immediately depending upon that branch, conceiving themselves greatly injured by the use of French and other foreign silks, assembled, by beat of drum, with their wives and children, to the amount of many thousands, in Spitalfields, and Moorfields, in order to petition for redress by a total prohibition of

those articles. They had before applied to his Majesty, who assured them the matter should be submitted to Parliament, and at his instance a bill was forwarding with all possible dispatch to lay additional duties on the importation of wrought silks and velvets, and to encourage the silk manufactures of the kingdom; but this did not pacify the insurgents, who, after having collected all their numbers at the above places, and made choice of leaders to conduct them, proceeded in separate bodies, and by different routes, with flags designed as emblems of their grievances, to St. James's and Westminster-hall; surrounded the palace and both Houses of Parliament; stopped several of the members in their chairs and coaches, beseeching them, in the humblest terms, to consider their distresses; and created the most serious apprehensions for the public tranquillity. They beset the Duke of Bedford's house in Bloomsbury Square, where they committed some acts of outrage, because he was said to have expressed his sentiments concerning them with too much harshness; and they broke the windows of a few shops suspected of selling French silks; but a mild yet steady exertion of the civil power, assisted by the military, reduced them to order, and prevented any farther mischief. Every step which rational pity could suggest was also taken by the legislature, and by the public. Besides the acts for increasing the duties on foreign silks and velvets, another was passed for prohibiting the importation of silk stockings, gloves, and mittens. A seasonable subscription was likewise set on foot for their present relief; and the principal silk-mercers concurred in an agreement to recal all the orders they had given for foreign manufactures.

These commotions among the journeymen silk-weavers were no sooner allayed, than symptoms of another kind of ferment began to appear at court.

Since the Earl of Bute's retirement from public business, the agents of faction had been indefatigable in their endeavours to make the multitude believe, that no important measure was determined upon by government without his private advice; which the great popular speakers in both Houses of Parliament took care to countenance by frequent insinuations of a secret influence. Such reproaches could not be very agreeable to any of the ministers; but they were particularly stinging to the Duke of Bedford, a man almost as proud, as irritable, and as jealous of his independency, as Mr. Pitt himself. From too violent a desire to wipe off the aspersion, and to afford the most unquestionable proofs of disregard for the Earl of Bute, his grace contrived to have that nobleman's brother turned out of a very honourable and lucrative employment, enjoyed by him in his own country, and in the discharge of which he had not given the least room for complaint. It was impossible this step should not be considered by the King as an affront put upon himself. But the duke and his colleagues went still farther; and dismissed Lord Holland and the Earl of Northumberland, for no other reason but because they were supposed to be the Earl of Bute's friends. About the time these changes took place, Parliament was prorogued with the usual acknowledgments from the throne.

But the ministry did not long enjoy those gratifications of their pride, rather than of their public spirit; the intended exclusion of the Princess-dowager from the regency act first indisposed the King's mind towards them, and offers were made to the principal members of the opposition, which, though declined by Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, were, after much negociation, accepted by the Duke of Newcastle, the Marquis of Rockingham, and their friends. General Conway, who at the

close of the last session had been deprived of all his employments, and the Duke of Grafton, were made secretaries of state. Lord Weymouth's late appointment to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland was superseded by that of the Earl of Hertford, General Conway's brother. The president's chair, lately filled by the Duke of Bedford, was given to the Earl of Winchelsea; and the places which Mr. Grenville had united in his own person were now divided, the Marquis of Rockingham becoming first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Dowdeswell, chancellor of the exchequer. Most of the other great offices of state were also filled with new men, except that Lord Egmont was continued at the head of the admiralty, and the Duke of Newcastle chose to be lord privy-seal, a place of ease well suited to his years, and yet of honour and confidence, the things of which his grace had ever appeared most ambitious. It was upon the same occasion that the very popular chief justice of the Common Pleas was created Lord Camden.

This arrangement or alteration of the ministry was entirely the work of the Duke of Cumberland, who continued for some time to assist them with his advice, but did not live long enough to see the consequences of the most important of their deliberations. On the evening of the 31st of October, as his Royal Highness was preparing to assist at a council on affairs of state, which was to be held at his own house in Upper Grosvenor Street, he was seized with a disorder, of which he had some symptoms the night before, and in a fit of shivering, sunk senseless, almost instantaneously, in the arms of the Earl of Albemarle. On being opened, there was found, in the right ventricle of the brain, a coagulation of extravasated blood, about the size of a pigeon's egg, which was the cause of his death. The membrane of the lobes of the brain was oss

This prince, who died in the 45th year of his age, was born in England, some years after the accession of the house of Hanover. His character was highly respectable, and his name was immortalized by his victory at Culloden. In less than two months after, the royal family sustained another loss in the death of Prince Frederick William, his Majesty's younger brother. The event following the former at so short an interval, thickened the glooms of melancholy round the court, and damped the joy which had been lately felt there, as well as throughout the kingdom, in consequence of the Queen's happy delivery of a third son, Prince William Henry, afterwards created Duke of Clarence.

On the 26th of April Lord Byron was tried in Westminster-hall, before the Peers, for the murder of Mr. Chaworth in a duel, and found guilty of manslaughter; but as peers are, by an old statute, to be dismissed in all cases where benefit of clergy is allowed, his lordship was discharged on paying the fees.

The famous Chevalier de St. George, only son of the late King James the Second, died at Rome, in a far advanced age, on the 30th of December. Born with the prospect of inheriting three powerful kingdoms, he experienced, during the course of a long life, only a succession of misfortunes. So entirely had he survived his political consequence, that the intelligence of his death was received in Great Britain with the utmost indifference; though his pretensions had, within the memory of the majority of persons living, excited the highest apprehension and alarm. He left two sons, the eldest of whom was Charles Edward, the hero of 1745. The younger, educated an ecclesiastic, and advanced to the purple, under the appellation of Cardinal of York, was the last surviving male of the ill-starred house of Stuart.

We must now revert to the affairs of India, from

which quarter alarm had been frequently, and very justly, excited in the course of the last three or four years; but it seemed now to subside in perfect security. The transactions there, though of no small moment, have been hitherto passed over, in order to keep them distinct, and to exhibit them in regular and unbroken succession.

In some former remarks on the occurrences of the year 1761, it was observed that Mir Cossim, the subah of Bengal, who had been enabled by the assistance of the English to check Sha Zaddah's progress, was influenced by private motives to treat the conquered prince with extraordinary respect. Mir Cossim, though indebted to the English for the acquisition of the subahship in the first instance, and for the secure possession of it afterwards, conceived the design of freeing himself from what he thought the chains of a ruinous and dishonourable dependance. Instead, therefore, of imposing hard terms on the Mogul prince, he strove to secure his friendship, of which he foresaw the value as soon as he should be prepared to avow his intentions. But these he artfully concealed for some time, and even continued to avail himself of the power of the English, whilst he found it serviceable to him. By their means he cleared his government of invaders, and strengthened his frontiers: he reduced the rajahs, or independent Indian chiefs, who had rebelled during the feeble administration of his predecessor; and, by compelling them to pay the usual tribute, repaired his exhausted finances, and thus secured the discipline and fidelity of his troops. Peace and order being restored to his province, his next step was to remove his court from Murshudabad, the vicinity of which to Calcutta gave the factory an opportunity of watching his conduct too narrowly, 200 miles higher up the Ganges, to Mongheer, which he fortified as strongly and expeditiously as he could. Here he began to form his army on a new

taken the ensuing winter; and vigorous measures were also pursued for terrifying and bringing to justice any persons concerned in those illegal combinations and monopolies.

But a matter of very serious concern, which had been earnestly recommended to the attention of the House of Commons by one of its own committees in the beginning of the year 1763, seemed to be totally forgotten both by the ministry and the opposition, to the great astonishment of the humane part of the public. This was the regulation of private madhouses, in which the most shocking abuses had been found to prevail. The committee appointed to inquire into this evil found that many of the private madhouses, in the neighbourhood of London, were no other than places of correction and imprisonment for persons, whose relations were interested in secluding them from all commerce with the world. Wives were shut up at the request of their husbands; and drunkenness, or any frivolous pretence was a sufficient cause for one person to imprison another; to debar him from all access to pen, ink, and paper; and deny him to his dearest friends, if any inquiry was made at the place of confinement. In short, all were received, who were taken to those private bridewells, on security being given for the payment of a stipulated sum; and even in cases where it was not pretended that the prisoners were lunatics, they were treated as such. Those, and other circumstances equally detestable, were fully made out before the committee, who heard them with the deepest concern and indignation. They made their report to the House on the 22d of February, 1763: a bill was brought in for the correction of such enormities: and every feeling heart indulged the fond hope, that in the next session at farthest, some effectual measures would be taken, not only for preventing the like abuses

for the future, but for bringing the delinquents to condign punishment for what had passed. The session, however, closed without any notice being taken of this business in either House.

The speech with which his Majesty closed this session, contained the usual return of thanks to both Houses for their wise and public spirited exertions; a renewal of the assurances which his Majesty continued to receive of the pacific sentiments of foreign powers; and an exhortation to employ this season of tranquillity in considering of the most effectual means for perfecting the works of peace, so happily begun. Thus ended the parliamentary campaign for this season; and the ministry, to whose duration a very short date had been assigned by their adversaries, not only weathered the storms of the session, but seemed to gather new strength to contend with future tempests. In the moment of triumph, and of indignation also, at those who had deserted them in the hour of greatest danger, they showed their power and resentment, perhaps too indiscreetly, by dismissing some persons of high military rank from the service, and among the rest, Lieutenant-general Conway, an officer of distinguished merit and abilities. So harsh a step admitted, however, of some little excuse. In the debate on general warrants, the division in the Commons ran so near, as before observed, that the ministry carried the question only by a majority of fourteen. Had it been decided in favour of the opposition, the Monument was to have been illuminated in the same manner as in the year 1732, when the famous excise scheme was defeated; and the greatest testimonies of public joy were to have been displayed. Preparations for those purposes having been openly made, were considered as so many insults upon government; and however the zeal of the citizens or of the uninformed populace

might influence them, it was thought indecent in any of the King's servants to countenance such proceedings. The general officer already mentioned was represented as being an important acquisition to the minority, and was charged with not only voting against the court in the debate on general warrants, but with speaking in the most disrespectful terms of the minister's person and capacity for business. The general and his friends very properly insisted upon his being as independent as any other gentleman in the House of Commons, and the ministry were far from disputing that principle; but the King, they said, ought to have an equal freedom in employing whom he pleased in the departments that were in his disposal.

## CHAPTER VI.

*State of the British acquisitions in America—Rupture with the Native Indians—Hostile operations—Peace concluded—New regulations to prevent smuggling greatly injurious to the general trade and prosperity of the Colonies—Dissatisfaction of the Americans—Meeting of Parliament—Apprehensions of a war with France and Spain removed—Election of a King of Poland—Colonial taxation—The sovereignty of the Isle of Man purchased by government—Indisposition of the King, and Regency Bill—Riot of the silk-weavers—Dismissal of some of the Earl of Bute's friends—Parliament prorogued—Change in the ministry—Death of the Duke of Cumberland and of Prince Frederic William—Birth of the Duke of Clarence—Death of the Chevalier de St. George—Mir Cossim endeavours to shake off the India Company's yoke—Concludes a treaty with Governor Vansittart, which is disavowed by the council, who proclaim Mir Jaffier subah of Bengal, and commence hostilities against Mir Cossim—Various operations of the war—Lord Clive's re-appointment, with a select committee—Death of Mir Jaffier, and terms prescribed to his successor—Disputes respecting presents—Lord Clive repairs to the army—Treaty with Sujah Doula—Violent opposition to the Stamp Act in America—Consequent embarrassment of the ministry—Meeting of Parliament—Motion for papers—Petitions against American taxation—Dr. Franklin—Repeal of the Stamp Act and rejoicings thereon—Popularity of other measures adopted by the Marquis of Rockingham's administration—Sudden changes in the ministry—Mr. Pitt created Earl of Chatham.*

THE renewal of hostilities on the part of the savages in America was noticed in the beginning of the last chapter, but the details were postponed on account of the more immediate and interesting pressure of domestic occurrences. By the fourth and seventh articles of the treaty of peace, Canada was ceded to Great Britain in its utmost extent. This stretched the northern part of her possessions on the continent of America from one ocean to the other. The cession of Louisiana to the Mississippi, and of the Spanish Florida on both seas, made her American empire complete. The only care which seemed left for Great Britain, was to render these acquisitions as beneficial in traffic, as they were extensive in territory. An immense waste of uncultivated country was evidently no great object to a mercantile nation for the present; but it was a considerable one in hope, because it contained an infinite variety of soils, climates, and situations, and thereby afforded ample materials for the exertion of wealth and skill in its improvement to all the purposes of trade. In order to come at an exact knowledge of every thing necessary for this purpose, it was judged expedient to divide the new acquisitions on the continent into three separate and independent governments. The first and most northerly of these divisions was called the government of Quebec, the limitation of which within narrower boundaries than those formerly assigned by the French to Canada, excited some surprise, and no inconsiderable clamour at home. The southern divisions were more easily adjusted, as the two provinces of East and West Florida were regularly parted by the river Apalachicola. The government of Quebec was given to the Honourable James Murray, that of the East Florida to James Grant, Esq. and that of West Florida, to George Johnstone, Esq. all of them officers who had eminently distinguished

themselves in making those conquests, the security and improvement of which were now intrusted to their care. The coast of Labrador from the river St. John to Hudson's Straits, and all the neighbouring islands in the gulf of St. Lawrence, were subjected to the authority and inspection of the governor of Newfoundland, their value depending wholly on the fishery. The islands of St. John and Cape Breton were annexed, as their situation required, to Nova Scotia.

This distribution of the newly acquired territories was no sooner announced to the public, in a royal proclamation of the 7th of October, 1763, than a violent outcry was raised against it; the largest, and, perhaps, the most improvable part of the late conquests not being included within the boundaries of any of the proposed governments. Most people were, indeed, astonished to find, that the environs of the great lakes, the fine countries on the whole course of the Ohio and Ouabache, and almost all that tract of Louisiana which lies on the hither branch of the Mississippi, were left out, and, as it were, disregarded in this boasted plan of territorial regulation. But the ministry had many reasons for such an apparent omission, among which a consideration of the Indians carried with it no small weight, because it might have given a sensible alarm to that people, if they had seen their whole country cantoned out into regular establishments. It was in this idea that the proclamation strictly forbade any purchases or settlements beyond the limits of the three beforementioned governments, or any extension of the old colonies beyond the heads of the rivers which fall from the westward into the Atlantic Ocean; reserving expressly all the territories behind as hunting ground for the Indians. That the ministry were not guilty of any blameable neglect, is evident from their earnest attention to the improvement of those

parts which they could perfectly command. In order to invite soldiers and seamen, who had served in the American war, to settle in the country they had conquered, lots of land were offered to them as the reward of their services, and in proportion to the rank they held in the army or navy. Every field officer was to have 5000 acres, every captain 3000, every subaltern 2000, every non-commissioned officer 200, and every private soldier or seaman fifty.

Though the most prudent steps were taken, to avoid giving offence to the Indians on the one hand, and to intimidate their ferocity on the other, they suddenly fell upon the frontiers of the most valuable settlements with such an unanimity in the design, and such persevering fury in the attack, as had not been experienced even in the hottest times of any former war. Various causes concurred to urge them on to this very unexpected violence. When they saw the French power annihilated, they began to imagine that they ought to have made greater and earlier efforts in favour of their old friends, of whom they had not been for a long time so jealous as of the English. The French seemed more intent on trade than settlement; finding themselves infinitely weaker than the English, they paid a much more flattering and systematical attention to the Indians. The English treated the savages at all times with too much indifference, but more especially since the close of the French war. The usual presents were omitted. Contrary to the intentions of government, settlements were attempted beyond the just limits. Purchases, indeed, were made of the lands, and sometimes fair ones. But the Indians, conscious of the weakness and facility of their own character in all dealings, have often considered a purchase and an invasion as nearly the same thing. They were also alarmed at seeing all the places of strength in the possession of the British troops,

and a chain of forts drawn round the best hunting country they had left. It was therefore very natural for them to look upon every garrison as the first advances of an encroaching colony; and a report having been spread amongst them that a scheme was formed for their entire extirpation, they did not hesitate a moment longer to take up the hatchet. The Delawars and Shawanese, who, as the cultivation of Pennsylvania advanced, had retired, and settled upon the Ohio, confederated with the other tribes whom they found scattered along that river, behind the Allegany mountains, to join in the proposed attack on the British forts and colonies. These must have been in the most imminent danger, had all the savages been unanimous on this occasion; but the most temperate and considerable part of the five nations were kept out of the war by the indefatigable pains of Sir William Johnson; and the Cherokees had still such an impression of their late chastisement, that they were afraid to provoke a repetition of the like severities.

When the Indians had resolved to take the field, their scheme was to make a general and sudden attack upon the British back-settlers, while they were getting in their harvest; and after having murdered all they could meet with, to destroy the crops, that no subsistence could remain for those who escaped. The precipitancy of some of their warriors defeated in part the more methodical and considerate mischief of the rest; and by giving an early alarm, afforded some of the planters an opportunity of escaping with their effects: great numbers were, nevertheless, cut off, the crops ruined, and their houses burned, with all that detail of savage cruelty with which an Indian war is always carried on. They made themselves masters of all the small posts between Pittsburgh and Lake Erie; but three posts of considerable strength still

remained to check their incursions, Detroit, Niagara, and fort Pitt. General Amherst, the commander-in-chief, sensible of the danger to which all the British conquests were exposed by the sudden breaking out of this war, sent out detachments as early as possible to strengthen the chief posts. Detroit was the first, where a plan for surprising the savages in their camp, which was about three miles from the fort, was unsuccessful, the Indians having been apprized of the design. The ill success of this attempt checked all farther offensive measures on the part of the garrison. As the enemy were unprovided with cannon, and ignorant also of the art of besieging or reducing fortified places, those savages could not improve the advantage they had gained; but though of so many different nations, and separated by such immense tracts of impracticable country, they preserved an uncommon degree of concert and connexion in all their enterprises; when one party of them was foiled near Detroit, another more formidable body invested fort Pitt, more than 200 miles from the former place. The building of this fort, which was originally called fort du Quesne by the French, had given the immediate occasion to the late war; and was now likely to become the main object of another very dreadful contest. Its works had never been well finished, and the commander was weak in the number of his troops, without engines, and ill supplied with every necessary for sustaining a siege; he, however, took all the precautions in his power for the repair of the place, and for repulsing the enemy. These savages, being destitute of all means of making regular approaches, took post under the banks of the rivers, close to the fort, and burying themselves in holes for days together, poured in an incessant storm of musketry and fire arrows. They hoped to reduce the garrison by

keeping it perpetually harassed; and if they failed in this method, they trusted to make themselves masters of the place by famine. In the mean time General Amherst, fully persuaded, from the importance and situation of fort Pitt, that it would become one of the principal objects of savage fury, ordered Colonel Bouquet to march to its relief, with a large quantity of provisions and stores under a strong escort. The Indians immediately abandoned the blockade of the fort, in order to seize the first favourable opportunity of cutting off the intended reinforcement. Colonel Bouquet having advanced to the extreme verge of the British settlements, prudently resolved to disencumber himself of a considerable part of the ammunition and provisions, while he proceeded with such supplies as were absolutely necessary. Being thus disburdened, the English army entered a rough and mountainous country. Before them lay a dangerous defile, called Turtle Creek, several miles in length, commanded the whole way by high and craggy hills, which it was deemed advisable not to attempt passing but by night, to elude, if possible, the vigilance of their enemies. Just as the troops were preparing to refresh themselves, after a fatiguing march of seventeen miles, the Indians suddenly attacked the advanced guard, but were beat off, and pursued to a considerable distance; the moment the pursuit ceased, however, they returned to the charge with redoubled vigour; and, as soon as the savages were driven from one eminence, they occupied another, till, by constant reinforcements, they were able to surround the whole detachment. After an engagement, which was continued without any intermission from one o'clock in the afternoon till night, the savages were driven from all their posts with fixed bayonets. Above sixty of the English were killed or wounded; and as the ground on which they

stood was not ill adapted to an encampment, the convoy and the wounded were placed in the centre, and the troops encompassed the whole. In this manner they passed an anxious night, the enemy, notwithstanding this check, seeming to wait only for the morning to complete their destruction.

Those who have only experienced the severities of a campaign in Europe, can scarcely form an idea of what is to be endured in an American war. To act in a country cultivated and inhabited, where roads are made, magazines and hospitals provided; where there are strong towns to afford refuge in case of misfortune; or, at the worst, a generous enemy to yield to; this may be considered as a dispute between rivals for glory, rather than a struggle between sanguinary enemies; but in an American campaign, every object is terrible; the face of the country, the climate, the enemy. There is no refreshment for the healthy, no relief for the sick or wounded. A vast inhospitable desert, unsafe and treacherous, extends on every side. Victories are not decisive, but defeats are ruinous; and simple death is the least misfortune that can befal a soldier. At the first dawn of light, in the morning of the 6th of August, the savages, under the favour of an incessant fire, made several bold efforts to penetrate into the camp. They were repulsed in every attempt, but by no means discouraged from new ones; the British troops, continually victorious, were continually in danger. They were, besides, much fatigued, and distressed to the last degree by a want of water. Tied to their convoy, to pursue their march was impracticable, as many of their horses were lost, and many of the drivers, stupified by their fears, hid themselves in the bushes, and were incapable of hearing or obeying orders. Colonel Bouquet, seeing that all depended on bringing the savages to close engagement, and that, when

pressed, they always flew off in order to rally with the greater effect, formed a plan for giving new strength to their audacity, by making dispositions for an apparent retreat. The savages gave entirely into the snare, rushed from the woods which had hitherto concealed them, and hurrying on headlong with the utmost intrepidity, made for a little time a desperate stand, but were totally routed with great slaughter. The victorious army, notwithstanding this advantage, had suffered so much, that, before they could move, they were obliged to destroy the greatest part of their provisions, and consequently to give up one of the principal objects of their expedition. About two miles farther on, the savages made a slight attack, after which they suffered little molestation, and arrived at fort Pitt in four days from the action. Though the forts of Detroit and Pitt were thus secured by timely reinforcements, the Indians in other parts of the country were not discouraged from farther attempts. Niagara was a place equally worthy of their regard; and they endeavoured to distress it by every method which the meanness of their skill in attacking fortified places would permit. They chiefly directed their attention to the convoys, hoping to starve what they could not otherwise reduce, and the vast distance of the forts from each other materially favoured their design.

While the war was thus raging in the remoter parts of the colony, Sir William Johnson had applied himself with indefatigable zeal to secure the attachment of such of the Indians as had not yet commenced hostilities. For this purpose he opened conferences at the German Flats, in the beginning of September, with the six nations, and some others, who appeared desirous of continuing in quiet dependance upon England. They could not, however, prevent the Senecas and their allies

from continuing their depredations and massacres. Vigorous measures were therefore adopted to reduce these refractory savages to reason; and it was not till they severely felt the scourge of powerful vengeance, that the Senecas were induced to solicit peace. In the treaty concluded between them and Sir William Johnson, all occasions of future dispute were removed; their boundaries were precisely ascertained; their past transgressions were forgiven; and, in consequence of their solemn engagements never more to make war upon the English, or to suffer any of their people to commit any acts of violence on the persons or properties of any of his Britannic Majesty's subjects, they were not only admitted once more into the covenant chain of friendship, but were to be indulged with a free, fair, and open trade. This treaty took place in April, 1764; and one of the most considerable succours being thereby withdrawn from the other hostile tribes, they could not hold out much longer. Deputies from the several nations, engaged, by solemn treaty, to deliver up all the prisoners in their hands, and to renounce all claim to the posts and forts possessed in their country by the English, who should be at liberty to erect as many more as might be thought necessary for the security of their trade, with as much land to each fort, for raising provisions, as a cannon-shot can fly over. Some other conditions were added, tending to inspire the barbarians with a sense of humanity and justice, and to give them some idea of the English government.

But while the British government was thus taking the most effectual steps to secure the peaceful submission of the American savages, a spirit of much more dangerous resistance began to appear among its civilized subjects on the same continent. This was first excited by some attempts made to break off all kind of commercial intercourse between the

British colonies and the French and Spanish settlements. The trade was certainly illicit; but as many parts of it were highly beneficial to those who carried it on, and ultimately to the mother countries in Europe, every restraint ought to have been imposed with the utmost delicacy and caution. The orders sent out by the English ministry, after the conclusion of the peace, to the naval commanders in the West Indies, were too rigorous, or, at least, too liable to abuse. Under the idea of putting a total stop to smuggling, ships of war were converted into guarda-costas, and captains of the navy were obliged to take the usual custom-house oaths, and to act in the capacity of revenue officers, although unacquainted with all those cases in which ships are, or are not liable to seizure, to penalty, or detention. The first branch of commerce which felt the weight of the blow was that which had been for a long time carried on between the British and Spanish plantations, to the great advantage of both, but especially the former, the chief materials of it being, on the side of the British colonies, British manufactures, or such of their own produce as enabled them to purchase those manufactures; and, on the part of the Spaniards, gold and silver in bullion and in coin, cochineal, and medicinal drugs, besides live stock and mules, with which the West India islands used to be supplied by the same channel, and which were still more necessary than the precious metals. Though this trade did not clash with the spirit of any of the prohibitory acts, yet it was found to vary from the letter of them sufficiently to afford the revenue officers a plea for doing that from duty, which they had strong temptations to do from motives of interest. Accordingly they seized, indiscriminately, all British as well as foreign ships engaged in that traffic, which the custom-house officers, stationed on shore, had al-

ways permitted to pass unnoticed. The same misfortune attended the trade carried on by the American colonies with the French West India islands, and which was no less lucrative than the former. Sound policy would rather have connived at such a resource, which not only prevented the North American colonies from being drained of their current cash by the calls of the mother country upon them, but afforded supplies of specie for the purposes of internal circulation.

In consequence of these prohibitions, which were for some time enforced by the naval officers with the utmost severity, not only all the contraband, but the fair and lawful trade of the Americans was threatened with ruin. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that the inhabitants of many of the colonies, being no longer able to make the usual remittances to the mother country for the customary supplies, began to turn their thoughts to retrenchment and industry; and renouncing all finery, came to a resolution not to buy any clothes, or other articles which they could possibly do without, that were not of their own manufacturing. Though the English ministry, on the first intimation of those grievances, immediately softened the rigour of their former orders, the Americans still complained, that the mode of restriction was only changed, and that the show of indulgence was rather an aggravation of their distresses. Their intercourse with the other European colonies, though now rendered in some respects legal, was loaded with such duties as became, in reality, prohibitions. They were, equally dissatisfied with being obliged to pay those duties, in specie, into the English exchequer, though it was expressly stated, that the money arising from them was to be reserved for defraying the charges of the colonies on which it was levied. But the object, against which the colonists raised the loudest clamour, was

the postponed intention of charging them with stamp duties. That measure had, as before intimated, been delayed by the minister till the sense of their several assemblies could be taken, how far they were willing to make a compensation in any other form, for the revenue that such a tax might produce. This was so uncommon an instance of condescension, that the agents for the colonies residing in London thought it their duty to wait upon him, and to return him thanks in the name of their constituents. He took that opportunity to inform them, that it was then in the power of the colonies, by agreeing to that tax, to establish a precedent for their being consulted for the future, before any tax was imposed upon them by the British Parliament, a proceeding which did not make a suitable impression on the minds of the Americans, prejudiced and irritated as they were by the late commercial restrictions. So far from complying, they resolved to remonstrate ; and some of their assemblies sent over petitions, to be presented to the King, Lords, and Commons, positively and directly questioning the authority and jurisdiction of Parliament over their properties. Even those provinces that were most moderate in their remonstrances, did not instruct their agents either to agree to the tax in question, or to offer any compensation to be exempted from it.

After a longer relief from public duty than the Parliament had for some years experienced, the session was opened on the 10th of January, 1765, with a speech from the throne, which embraced some topics of interest. "The courts of France and Spain," his Majesty said, "have given me fresh assurances of their good dispositions." A declaration of this kind from the throne was the more seasonable, as some apprehension of a war with the house of Bourbon was entertained, arising from some incidents in the course of last year. By

accounts received from the West Indies in June, it appeared, that, by an order from Don Remires, the Spanish governor of Jucatan, the English logwood cutters had been disturbed in their business, contrary to the last treaty, on the pretence of their having nothing to prove their being subjects to his Britannic Majesty, and also, that they had roved too freely about the country. Representations being made to the court of Madrid, the conduct of the governor was censured, and the logwood cutters immediately re-established. Another instance, which occurred about the same time, contributed further to create alarm. The commodore of some Spanish xebeques, that were cruising against the Algerines in the Mediterranean, attacked an English merchant ship, commanded by one Captain Sybrand, who immediately hoisted English colours; but having no guns on board, cried out for mercy. The Spaniards, however, continued their fire till the English ship was rendered almost a wreck; many of the crew were wounded; one of the passengers lost his arm; and the ship was carried into Carthagena. On the discovery of the mistake, into which the very unpardonable precipitancy of the Spanish commodore had hurried him, his Catholic Majesty defrayed the expense of curing the wounded English; indemnified their captain for the interruption of his voyage; and gave the passenger a gratification for the unfortunate loss of his arm.

Some proceedings of the French in the West Indies also increased the apprehensions of a war. At no great distance from the coast of Hispaniola are several small islands, the most considerable, or rather the least insignificant of which is called Turk's island, and gives its name to the rest. Though it is an uncomfortable barren spot, with very little fresh water, without any vegetables except low shrubs, or any animals except lizards, and

land-crabs; yet the coast abounds with fish, turtle, and sea-fowls; and the soil itself produces salt. As it was impossible for any settlement to subsist upon the island, the property of it remained undetermined: but the Burmudians, and other British subjects, used to resort thither annually in March, for the benefit of gathering salt in the dry season. Their manner of living was the most wretched that can well be conceived. They dwelt in huts covered with leaves: salt pork, and now and then a turtle or a lizard, was their food; and their dress consisted of a straw hat, a check shirt, and a pair of coarse linen trowsers. Their chief customers were the people of New England, who purchased the salt for their fisheries, at the rate of from fourpence to sixpence a bushel, and paid a small part in money, and the rest in bad rum, and worse provisions. Here was nothing to invite invasion, or rapine. Yet, on the 1st of June, the crews of a French seventy-four gun ship, and of two or three small vessels in company, landed on the island; plundered and burnt all the cabins that were erected there; and carried off the inhabitants, about 200 in number, with nine English vessels which they found off the coast, to cape François, where they released them next day, with orders not to return to Turk's island. The court of France, on representations being made by the Earl of Hertford, the English ambassador, disavowed the whole proceedings, and gave orders to the Count d'Estaigne, governor of St. Domingo, to cause the island to be immediately restored in the condition in which it was on the 1st of June. Even this did not silence the alarmists: a sloop of war, which had come from Newfoundland in the summer, having brought advice that the French marine on that station appeared formidable, and that some fears were entertained of their intention to fortify St. Peter's. Letters, however, were received at the

Admiralty, on the 2d of October, from Commodore Palliser, informing their lordships, that there were no buildings or works erected contrary to the treaty; and that the guard consisted of no more than forty-seven men, and had never exceeded fifty. To these proofs of the sincerity of France, another was added, in the proposals submitted to his Majesty, for the discharge of the balance due for the subsistence of French prisoners in the British dominions during the last war. The French ambassador was authorized to offer 670,000*l.* in acquittal of the whole demand, 130,000*l.* to be paid immediately, and the remainder at the rate of 40,000*l.* a quarter. These proposals being a few days after laid before Parliament, and approved, it must be confessed, that the disbursement of money from one rival state to another, did not look very like a preliminary step to a war between them.

Another affair to which his Majesty alluded in his speech, was the election of a King of Poland. The filling of that vacant throne had often been destructive to the repose of Europe; and upon the late occasion, while all the surrounding powers seemed ready to take a decisive part in it, so many strong domestic factions subsisted, that dangerous convulsions might well have been apprehended. On the death of the unfortunate Augustus the Third, the 5th of October, 1763, his eldest son and successor to his hereditary dominions in Saxony declared himself a candidate for his elective crown. The Empress-queen could not well avoid countenancing his pretentions, as the only means she had of making him amends for what his family had suffered in her cause. France and Spain, as connected with the house of Saxony, were likely to throw their interest into the same scale; but their favourite candidate was carried off by the small-pox in less than three months after his father, leaving a son too young to

engage in such a contest. Russia, Prussia, and Turkey were determined to raise a native of Poland to the throne, and, with this view an army of Russians entered the country, and approached Warsaw, while the Prussians appeared on one frontier, and a body of Turks assembled on the other. The person, whom they had solemnly recommended to the Poles, was Count Poniatowski, a man of illustrious family, and distinguished by his virtues and accomplishments. But though the death of the young elector of Saxony removed one competitor out of the way, and the Empress-queen, as well as France and Spain, saw the folly of attempting to set up another, two of Poniatowski's countrymen, Prince Radzivil, and Count Branitzki, the crown-general, opposed him with great violence, on very plausible, and not unpopular grounds. They did not oppose the election of a native, but contended that this election ought to be free; and they could not bear, that, under the name of preserving the liberty of Poland, a foreign army should openly dispose of its crown. But their efforts were unavailing: Prince Radzivil, who had raised an army of his own dependants, and who had also been joined by the Saxon party, was defeated by the Russian troops on the 3d of July, 1764; and Count Branitzki met with no better succees in another action. The declared opposers of Poniatowski being now obliged to fly the country, he ascended the throne, with the most auspicious appearances, on the 7th of September, by the name and titles of Stanislaus Augustus, King of Poland, and Grand Duke of Lithuania.

There was one paragraph in the speech from the throne, in which his Majesty expressed his reliance on the firmness and wisdom of Parliament, in promoting the proper respect and obedience due to the laws, and to the legislative authority of Great Britain. This question, it was said, had been much

better avoided, since such a debate could have no issue but what must prove highly prejudicial to the mother country, especially after an undisputed exercise of such authority. Decided in the affirmative, it must have tended to alienate the affections of the colonies; in the negative, to increase their presumption; and left undecided, to breed in them a complication of both those evils. But the truth is, that the sovereign authority of the British Parliament had been denied in the most positive terms by the colonies; and that, after they had sent over remonstrances asserting that the legislature had no right whatever to tax them, it would have betrayed the greatest weakness in the ministry to shrink from the establishment of that right, or to leave a matter of such importance in doubt. Before they were fully prepared, however, for the discussion of this subject, they were again attacked on the question of general warrants, an attempt being made in the House of Commons to procure a resolution against their legality, which was productive of a copious debate, but the decision of the point was eluded by the previous question, the majority in favour of ministers consisting only of forty.

The important topic of colonial taxation met with little delay, the attention of Parliament being soon called to the propriety of laying nearly the same stamp duties upon the British colonies in America as were payable in England. No less than fifty-five resolutions of the committee of ways and means, relative to that branch of the revenue, were agreed to by the House on the 7th of February; and were afterwards formed into a bill, which met with fewer checks or delays in its progress through both Houses than the most trifling measure which had been hitherto proposed by government. Petitions, indeed, as before intimated, had been sent over by several of the provincial assemblies, directly questioning

the jurisdiction of the British Parliament: but they were not suffered to be read in the House of Commons; nor did any member at that time stand forward to defend such pretensions. The gentlemen of the opposition were reproached with sneaking from the debate in the first stages of the business, as if they anticipated in silence the probable overthrow of the ministry from so dangerous an experiment. The clamour afterwards broke out with great violence when the act passed; when the mischief, according to their ideas, was done; and when they might hope to accomplish their own object, by inflaming the resistance of the Americans. Even the author of the celebrated letters under the signature of Junius, was forced to acknowledge this fact; and his testimony ought to have the greater weight, as being extorted, it may be said, from the lips of an unwilling evidence. "When," says he, "Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the treasury, he felt the impossibility of Great Britain's supporting such an establishment as her former successes had made indispensable, and, at the same time, of giving any sensible relief to foreign trade, and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that those parts of the empire which had benefited most by the expenses of the war, should contribute something to the expenses of the peace; and he had no doubt of the constitutional right vested in Parliament to raise the contribution. But unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be distressed, because he was minister; and Mr. Pitt and Lord Camden were to be the patrons of America, because they were in opposition. Their declaration gave spirit and argument to the colonies; and while, perhaps, they meant no more than the ruin of a minister, they in effect divided one half of the empire from the other."

Whatever objections might have been very forci-

bly urged against the policy or expediency of imposing the stamp duties on the Americans, all at once, and at a time when they were very much irritated by the late restrictions of their trade, it cannot be denied, that Mr. Grenville's manner of bringing forward the measure was as temperate and candid, as the principles, on which the right of taxation was founded, were indisputable. The first and great principle of all government, and of all society is, that support is due in return for protection; that every subject should contribute to the common defence, in which his own is included. It was necessary, and it was just, to recur to this principle at the close of the war. It was found necessary to maintain upwards of 10,000 men for the defence of the colonies: an expense of between 300,000*l.* and 400,000*l.* annually was, on that account, to be incurred. It was just that the colonies, which had profited so much by the war; whose interests, commerce, and security had been the first objects of the peace; and of whose ability to bear at least some proportion of that new expense there was no reason to doubt, should contribute, not to support or to defend Great Britain, but about a third part of the expense necessary for their own defence and protection. Upon this general and acknowledged principle, and upon this application of it, which was just in itself, and which the situation of Great Britain rendered necessary, the stamp act was planned. The propriety of charging such duties in the colonies and plantations was first thrown into the form of a resolution; and though no farther proceedings upon the measure at that time took place, yet the merits of the question were opened at large. Those who afterwards so loudly asserted the privileges and exemptions of America, were then publicly called upon to deny, if they thought it fitting, the right of the legislature to

impose any tax, either internal or external, upon that country; and not a single person, as before observed, ventured to controvert that right. A year's delay, however, was given, that information might be received from America, with regard to the expediency of the particular tax proposed, not to permit the right of imposing it to be disputed. This distinction was clearly stated to the House of Commons, and afterwards explained to the agents of the provinces. But several of these provinces, little grateful for such indulgence, either directly treated the resolutions of the British legislature with the most indecent disrespect, or instructed their agents to present petitions, asserting the right of freedom from taxes imposed by Great Britain. Such petitions could not be heard, but were rejected without a division, when Mr. Grenville proposed, in order to mitigate matters, that the agents should join in a petition to the House, for their being heard by counsel in behalf of their respective colonies against the tax. But the agents did not think proper to avail themselves of this second instance of condescension: they imagined, perhaps, that the petitioning for a suspension of the bill, as a favour, might be deemed an acknowledgment, that their principals had no right to oppose the execution of it when passed into a law. The bill having gone through the usual forms, received the royal assent by commission, on the 22d of March; and the minister was not without hopes that the colonies would acquiesce in this act, particularly as the money arising from it was to be reserved for defraying the charge of their own protection, and as bounties were granted to encourage the importation of all kinds of timber from them, which would at least compensate in most parts of North America the operation of the stamp duty.

The number of cutters and other vessels, which

had been fitted out for the suppression of smuggling, were of the utmost service to the state, not only from the vast number of seizures they made, but as being so many provisions for naval officers on half-pay, and keeping up a body of seamen for the use of government. But they were not sufficient for the extinction of the evil. The Isle of Man, which was not subject to the custom-house laws, as not only the property but the sovereignty of it belonged to the Duke of Athol, lay so conveniently for the purpose of smuggling, that it defeated the utmost vigilance of government. So far back as the seventh and eighth years of the reign of George the First, acts of Parliament had been made for preventing such illegal and destructive practices; but without effect. A treaty was then entered into by government for purchasing the property of the island, or such a right over it, as might deprive the smugglers of the haunts and conveniences they had for carrying on their frauds. This expedient likewise proved ineffectual: it was easy to ascertain the real value of the island; but the price of relinquished sovereignty was not so susceptible of calculation. At length, on the second reading of a bill presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Grenville, for more effectually preventing the mischiefs arising to the revenue and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland, from the illicit and clandestine trade to and from the Isle of Man, the Duke and Duchess of Athol presented a petition for liberty to be heard by counsel against it, the object of which was to obtain a proper compensation or equivalent for the surrender of their hereditary rights and title. An abstract of the revenue of the island for the last ten years, and the proposals of the duke and duchess in their correspondence with the commissioners of the treasury on the subject, were also laid before the House; and the re-

sult was, that on the 6th of March, two resolutions were agreed to, for vesting in the crown all rights, jurisdictions, and interests, in and over the said island and its dependencies, excepting what related to the landed property ; and for allowing the proprietors 70,000*l.* as a full compensation for those rights. The liberality of government went still farther, a pension being also settled on the duke and the duchess, during their lives, by way of douceur for the relinquishment of titular royalty.

Before the bills, founded on the above proceedings and resolutions of the Commons, could go through all the necessary stages, another matter of great national concern engaged public attention. Towards the spring of the year, his Majesty was attacked with an illness, which excited considerable alarm. Anxious, however, as the people might be for the life of their sovereign, he appears to have been equally so for their safety and welfare. The first day that his health would permit him to appear abroad, which was on the 24th of April, he repaired to Parliament, where, after giving his assent to the bills that were ready, he made a speech to both Houses, in which he told them, that his late indisposition, though not attended with danger, had led him to consider the situation in which his kingdoms and his family might be left, if it should please God to put a period to his life whilst his successor was of tender years; and had determined him to take the earliest opportunity of recommending to their most serious deliberation, the making such provision as would be necessary, in case any of his children should succeed to his throne before they should respectively attain the age of eighteen years. To this end, his Majesty proposed to their consideration, whether, under the present circumstances, it would not be expedient to vest in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by instrument in

writing, under his sign manual, either the Queen, or any other person of his royal family, usually residing in Great Britain, to be the guardian of the person of such successor, and the regent of these kingdoms, until such successor should attain the age of eighteen years, subject to the like restrictions and regulations as were specified in the act made on occasion of his father's death; the regent so appointed to be assisted by a council, composed of the several persons, who, by reason of their dignities and offices, were constituted members of the council established by that act, together with those whom they might think proper to leave to his nomination. This speech having been answered, as soon as forms would admit, by a joint address from both Houses, the Lords ordered a bill to be brought in, conformable to his Majesty's recommendation: but when it came down to the Commons for their concurrence, it gave rise to very long debates, the clauses of it being so worded as to exclude the Princess-dowager of Wales from any share in the guardianship or regency, though, next to the Queen, it was most natural for his Majesty to wish his own mother invested with such trusts. An amendment was therefore carried by a majority of 167 against thirty-seven, for inserting the name of the Princess-dowager of Wales, next after that of the Queen; and the bill, so amended, being approved by the Lords, received the royal assent on the 15th of May.

Whilst this affair was under the consideration of the legislature, the journeymen silk-weavers of London, reinforced by those of the other trades immediately depending upon that branch, conceiving themselves greatly injured by the use of French and other foreign silks, assembled, by beat of drum, with their wives and children, to the amount of many thousands, in Spitalfields, and Moorfields, in order to petition for redress by a total prohibition of

those articles. They had before applied to his Majesty, who assured them the matter should be submitted to Parliament, and at his instance a bill was forwarding with all possible dispatch to lay additional duties on the importation of wrought silks and velvets, and to encourage the silk manufactures of the kingdom; but this did not pacify the insurgents, who, after having collected all their numbers at the above places, and made choice of leaders to conduct them, proceeded in separate bodies, and by different routes, with flags designed as emblems of their grievances, to St. James's and Westminster-hall; surrounded the palace and both Houses of Parliament; stopped several of the members in their chairs and coaches, beseeching them, in the humblest terms, to consider their distresses; and created the most serious apprehensions for the public tranquillity. They beset the Duke of Bedford's house in Bloomsbury Square, where they committed some acts of outrage, because he was said to have expressed his sentiments concerning them with too much harshness; and they broke the windows of a few shops suspected of selling French silks; but a mild yet steady exertion of the civil power, assisted by the military, reduced them to order, and prevented any farther mischief. Every step which rational pity could suggest was also taken by the legislature, and by the public. Besides the acts for increasing the duties on foreign silks and velvets, another was passed for prohibiting the importation of silk stockings, gloves, and mittens. A seasonable subscription was likewise set on foot for their present relief; and the principal silk-mercers concurred in an agreement to recal all the orders they had given for foreign manufactures.

These commotions among the journeymen silk-weavers were no sooner allayed, than symptoms of another kind of ferment began to appear at court.

Since the Earl of Bute's retirement from public business, the agents of faction had been indefatigable in their endeavours to make the multitude believe, that no important measure was determined upon by government without his private advice; which the great popular speakers in both Houses of Parliament took care to countenance by frequent insinuations of a secret influence. Such reproaches could not be very agreeable to any of the ministers; but they were particularly stinging to the Duke of Bedford, a man almost as proud, as irritable, and as jealous of his independency, as Mr. Pitt himself. From too violent a desire to wipe off the aspersion, and to afford the most unquestionable proofs of disregard for the Earl of Bute, his grace contrived to have that nobleman's brother turned out of a very honourable and lucrative employment, enjoyed by him in his own country, and in the discharge of which he had not given the least room for complaint. It was impossible this step should not be considered by the King as an affront put upon himself. But the duke and his colleagues went still farther; and dismissed Lord Holland and the Earl of Northumberland, for no other reason but because they were supposed to be the Earl of Bute's friends. About the time these changes took place, Parliament was prorogued with the usual acknowledgments from the throne.

But the ministry did not long enjoy those gratifications of their pride, rather than of their public spirit; the intended exclusion of the Princess-dowager from the regency act first indisposed the King's mind towards them, and offers were made to the principal members of the opposition, which, though declined by Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, were, after much negociation, accepted by the Duke of Newcastle, the Marquis of Rockingham, and their friends. General Conway, who at the

close of the last session had been deprived of all his employments, and the Duke of Grafton, were made secretaries of state. Lord Weymouth's late appointment to the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland was superseded by that of the Earl of Hertford, General Conway's brother. The president's chair, lately filled by the Duke of Bedford, was given to the Earl of Winchelsea; and the places which Mr. Grenville had united in his own person were now divided, the Marquis of Rockingham becoming first lord of the treasury, and Mr. Dowdeswell, chancellor of the exchequer. Most of the other great offices of state were also filled with new men, except that Lord Egmont was continued at the head of the admiralty, and the Duke of Newcastle chose to be lord privy-seal, a place of ease well suited to his years, and yet of honour and confidence, the things of which his grace had ever appeared most ambitious. It was upon the same occasion that the very popular chief justice of the Common Pleas was created Lord Camden.

This arrangement or alteration of the ministry was entirely the work of the Duke of Cumberland, who continued for some time to assist them with his advice, but did not live long enough to see the consequences of the most important of their deliberations. On the evening of the 31st of October, as his Royal Highness was preparing to assist at a council on affairs of state, which was to be held at his own house in Upper Grosvenor Street, he was seized with a disorder, of which he had some symptoms the night before, and in a fit of shivering, sunk senseless, almost instantaneously, in the arms of the Earl of Albemarle. On being opened, there was found, in the right ventricle of the brain, a coagulation of extravasated blood, about the size of a pigeon's egg, which was the cause of his death. The membrane of the lobes of the brain was ossified.

This prince, who died in the 45th year of his age, was born in England, some years after the accession of the house of Hanover. His character was highly respectable, and his name was immortalized by his victory at Culloden. In less than two months after, the royal family sustained another loss in the death of Prince Frederick William, his Majesty's younger brother. The event following the former at so short an interval, thickened the glooms of melancholy round the court, and damped the joy which had been lately felt there, as well as throughout the kingdom, in consequence of the Queen's happy delivery of a third son, Prince William Henry, afterwards created Duke of Clarence.

On the 26th of April Lord Byron was tried in Westminster-hall, before the Peers, for the murder of Mr. Chaworth in a duel, and found guilty of manslaughter; but as peers are, by an old statute, to be dismissed in all cases where benefit of clergy is allowed, his lordship was discharged on paying the fees.

The famous Chevalier de St. George, only son of the late King James the Second, died at Rome, in a far advanced age, on the 30th of December. Born with the prospect of inheriting three powerful kingdoms, he experienced, during the course of a long life, only a succession of misfortunes. So entirely had he survived his political consequence, that the intelligence of his death was received in Great Britain with the utmost indifference; though his pretensions had, within the memory of the majority of persons living, excited the highest apprehension and alarm. He left two sons, the eldest of whom was Charles Edward, the hero of 1745. The younger, educated an ecclesiastic, and advanced to the purple, under the appellation of Cardinal of York, was the last surviving male of the ill-starred house of Stuart.

We must now revert to the affairs of India, from

which quarter alarm had been frequently, and very justly, excited in the course of the last three or four years; but it seemed now to subside in perfect security. The transactions there, though of no small moment, have been hitherto passed over, in order to keep them distinct, and to exhibit them in regular and unbroken succession.

In some former remarks on the occurrences of the year 1761, it was observed that Mir Cossim, the subah of Bengal, who had been enabled by the assistance of the English to check Sha Zaddah's progress, was influenced by private motives to treat the conquered prince with extraordinary respect. Mir Cossim, though indebted to the English for the acquisition of the subahship in the first instance, and for the secure possession of it afterwards, conceived the design of freeing himself from what he thought the chains of a ruinous and dishonourable dependance. Instead, therefore, of imposing hard terms on the Mogul prince, he strove to secure his friendship, of which he foresaw the value as soon as he should be prepared to avow his intentions. But these he artfully concealed for some time, and even continued to avail himself of the power of the English, whilst he found it serviceable to him. By their means he cleared his government of invaders, and strengthened his frontiers: he reduced the rajahs, or independent Indian chiefs, who had rebelled during the feeble administration of his predecessor; and, by compelling them to pay the usual tribute, repaired his exhausted finances, and thus secured the discipline and fidelity of his troops. Peace and order being restored to his province, his next step was to remove his court from Murshudabad, the vicinity of which to Calcutta gave the factory an opportunity of watching his conduct too narrowly, 200 miles higher up the Ganges, to Mongheer, which he fortified as strongly and expeditiously as he could. Here he began to form his army on a new

model, and drew together all the Persians, Tartars, Armenians, and other soldiers of fortune, whose military spirit he wished to infuse into his Indian forces, and whose example might, he hoped, teach them to overcome their natural timidity. Sensible of the superiority of European discipline, he neglected nothing to acquire it; every wandering Frenchman, every seapoy who had been dismissed from the English service, he carefully picked up, and distributed amongst his troops. He changed the fashion of the Indian muskets from matchlocks to firelocks; and because his cannon was nearly as defective as his small arms, he procured from the English a pattern of one, on which he formed an excellent train of artillery. Attentive to his army, he was not forgetful of his court, the treachery and factious dissentions of which had hitherto been more fatal to the Indian princes than the feebleness of their arms. He therefore cut off, without remorse, or threw into prison, every considerable person in his dominions, who had shown any attachment to the English. His revenue, though on a much better footing than that of his predecessor, still fell very short of its ancient limits. The free trade, which his own and his father-in-law's necessities had extorted in favour of the company's servants, threatened to annihilate his customs, as it diverted all the domestic and foreign commerce of Bengal into a channel from which he could derive no benefit. To remedy this evil, he subjected all the English private traders to the regular and equal payment of duties throughout his dominions; and issued an order, that their disputes, if they happened in his territories, should be decided by his magistrates. The English factory took the alarm. Mr. Vansittart, the governor, went in the latter end of 1762, to Mongheer, in order to expostulate with the subah, who answered his remonstrances with a command of temper equal to the force of his reasoning.

"If," said he, "the servants of the company were permitted, as they now desire, to trade custom-free in all parts, and in all commodities, they must of course draw all trade into their own hands; and my customs would be of so little value, that it would be more for my interest to lay trade entirely open, and to collect no duties upon any kind of merchandize. This would invite numbers of merchants into the country, and increase my revenues by encouraging the cultivation and manufacture of goods for sale, at the same time that it would cut off the principal source of our quarrels, an object which I have more than any other at heart." The truth of these remarks could not be controverted; but Mir Cossim's conduct was still a direct violation of the treaty, or bargain, he made with the company's servants on his obtaining the subahship, by which they were entitled to the privileges in question. The matter, however, was evidently in his power, unless a war prevented him. The governor, though long accustomed to dictate on such occasions, submitted to certain regulations, which, if not unreasonable, were very unpleasing. These were instantly put in execution; and the Indian magistrates began to exercise their power with a proper spirit, as they said, but, as the English traders complained, with partiality and rigour. As soon as the effect of the negociation was made known at Calcutta, it threw the factory into a flame. They were filled with indignation and astonishment, at finding that an Asiatic prince, created by themselves, had dared to assert his independency. They began to repent of their late change, and to wish that they had left the timid and indolent Mir Jaffier to slumber quietly on his throne. The council disavowed the proceedings of the governor; sent orders to all the factories, forbidding them to submit to any of the proposed restrictions; and solicited Cossim to enter into a

new agreement. But now grown confident of his strength, he charged them with inconstancy and insolence, and refused to negociate with their deputies. The English factory, yielding in nothing to his spirit, prepared to draw their army into the field, and once more proclaimed Mir Jaffier subah of Bengal.

In this war, the first blow was struck by the English. At Patna, a great commercial city, 300 miles up the Ganges, they had a fortified factory, and some European as well as Indian soldiers. These suddenly attacked the town on the 25th of June, 1763, and made themselves masters of it without much difficulty, notwithstanding its fortifications had been newly repaired, and that it was defended by a strong garrison. The Indian governor and his troops fled at the first assault into the country; but being reinforced, he returned in a few hours to Patna, and surprised the English, who had neglected every precaution, and were wildly dispersed on every side, wasting and plundering that opulent and feeble city. Many of them were cut to pieces, the rest took refuge in the fort. But even this they soon abandoned, so spiritless did they become in consequence of the unexpected turn of their affairs. Crossing the Ganges, they marched for three days without interruption; but were at length overtaken by a superior force. In the first engagement, fortune proved favourable; in the second, they were entirely routed; and shared that fate which might naturally be expected from so rash and precipitate a resolution. At a distance from all succour, and in the heart of the enemy's country, they had no safety to hope for, but from the defence of their factory, where they might have maintained themselves for a long time, the Indians being very inexpert in the art of reducing fortified places.

Though the deputies sent to Mongheer had the

nabob's pass, and ought to have been by the law of nations sacred, they were attacked in their return, and miserably slaughtered with their attendants. This act of barbarity hastened the march of the army under Major Adams, who, at first, had only one royal regiment, a few of the company's forces, two troops of European cavalry, ten companies of seapoys, and twelve pieces of cannon. With these he proved victorious in several brisk skirmishes, and cleared the country as far as the Cossimbuzar, a branch of the Ganges, which it was necessary to pass, before any attempt could be made on Murshudabad, the capital of the province. The enemy did not oppose his passage; but had drawn out their army, consisting of 10,000 men, in an advantageous post at a place called Ballasara, between the river and the city. By a judicious movement, he obliged them to begin the action, which they did with great spirit, and bore the cannonade very firmly; but, at the distance of fifty yards, they received such a storm of musketry, as made them retreat in the utmost confusion and precipitancy. Adams, with that rapidity which is always useful in war, but was here indispensable, as the periodical rains began to fall, marched forward; but found the enemy again in his way, defended by an intrenchment fifteen feet high, and by a numerous artillery. As it would have been an unjustifiable boldness to think of forcing so strong a post, he had recourse to a stratagem, which succeeded. He made a feint of attacking them where their principal strength lay, while the body of his army marched in the night to the opposite quarter of their line, and mastered it at daybreak with little difficulty. Astonished at this stroke, the Indians fled, and abandoned the camp, and the city which it covered, to the conqueror. So considerable an advantage, which the English gained on the 23d of July, 1763, increased their diligence

and exertions. They penetrated into the inmost recesses of the province, and crossing the numerous and wide branches of the Ganges, sought out the subah through marshes and forests. He was not remiss in his own defence. Knowing the inferiority of his troops, and the slight attachment of Indian subjects to their prince, he never ventured the final decision of the war on a single battle, nor hazarded his person in any engagement. The faithfulness of his grandees, who might, by treason, erect their own fortune on his ruin, deterred him from the latter; and the former could never be deemed advisable by a man, whom the experience of others had taught that an immense multitude of undisciplined troops only confounds veterans, and contributes to the greatness of a defeat. The English were also in the career of victory, and nothing could stand before them; yet they found a sensible difference in the opposition they now met with, though it was not able fully to obstruct their progress. Ten days after their late victory, they found 20,000 horse and 8000 foot, excellently posted on the banks of the Nuncas Nullas, well defended by a formidable train of artillery, divided into regular brigades, armed and clothed like Europeans, and in every respect displaying the same order and spirit as themselves. What was never before observed in India, the enemy did not discharge a cannon till the English began the attack. A constant fire was kept up, on both sides, for the space of four hours; during which time the Indian cavalry charged the European regulars, at the distance of twenty yards, with uncommon resolution. But in spite of all the efforts of their improved discipline and courage, they were at length compelled to fly, with the loss of all their artillery. After this decisive proof of the superiority of the English forces, the Indians never attempted a regular engagement

in the open field during the remainder of the campaign, but they showed neither want of spirit nor skill in defending their towns and fortresses. At Auda Nulla particularly, they held out with wonderful art and perseverance, baffling every operation against them, from the 21st of August till the 4th of September, when, being overpowered by one of Major Adams's well concerted stratagems, they suffered an incredible slaughter. The carrying of this strong hold laid open the whole country to the victorious arms of the English as far as the gates of Mongheer, which surrendered to them after only nine days open trenches.

Nothing now remained to complete the reduction of the whole province, but the taking of Patna. This was the last hope of Mir Cossim, who had accordingly taken every possible precaution to strengthen and secure it. He placed in the city a garrison of 10,000 men, and hovered, at some distance, with several large bodies of horse, to annoy the besiegers. But this barbarian merited, by his cruelties, the ill successes which constantly attended all his measures, however well chosen. Irritated at the progress of Adams, and unable to avenge himself in the field, he issued orders for massacring about 200 Englishmen, who had been made prisoners at Patna, in the beginning of the troubles. One Someraw, a German, who had deserted from the company's service, was chosen for the perpetration of this horrid villany. On the day intended for butchering these unfortunate persons, he invited forty of the most considerable to supper at his house; and, in the midst of convivial mirth, when they thought themselves protected by the laws of hospitality as well as of war, the ruffian ordered the Indians under his command to cut their throats. These barbarous soldiers revolted at the savage order: they refused at first to obey, desiring that

arms might be given to the English, and that they would then engage them. Someraw, fixed in his purpose, compelled them, by threats and blows, to the accomplishment of that odious service. The unfortunate victims, though suddenly attacked and wholly unarmed, made a long and brave defence, killing some of the assailants with their plates and bottles. In the end, they were all murdered; and the rest of the prisoners met with the same fate. This enormous crime was not long unrevenged. Adams soon laid siege to Patna, which he took by storm in eight days, and forced Cossim to seek an asylum in the territories of Sujah Doula, a neighbouring subah, who acted as vizier to the Great Mogul.

No campaign had ever been conducted with more ability. In less than four months Major Adams completed, the first of any European, the entire conquest of Bengal; in which time, he gained four victories, stormed two fortified cities, took 500 pieces of cannon, and drove into exile the most implacable enemy the English had ever before encountered in India. Mir Cossim's expulsion was not, however, attended with any lasting security to the company's affairs in the east. The Indian princes, sensible, that, against European invaders, the cause of one was the cause of all, were alarmed for their own independence, and, at the instigation of the fugitive subah, took up arms against the English. The death of Adams, whose name was so terrible to them, contributed very much to this resolution. The Shah Zaddah and the nabob Sujah Doula united their forces, and threatened to restore the exiled Cossim, at the head of an army of 50,000 men, with a suitable train of artillery. Major Munro, who succeeded Adams, showed himself by no means unworthy of such an appointment. He marched directly in

quest of the enemy, and came up with them on the 22d of October, 1764, at a place called Buxar, on the banks of the Camnassary, about 100 miles above Patna ; where they were encamped with all the advantages nature and art could bestow. Trusting to their superiority in numbers, they attacked Munro with all their forces, but were soon put to flight, leaving 6000 men on the spot, with 130 pieces of cannon, a proportionable quantity of military stores, and all their tents ready pitched. This advantage cost the victors, in killed and wounded, but 109 Europeans, and 700 Indians. The indefatigable major followed the blow by an attempt on the only fort which was still left to Sujah Doula on the same side of the river Camnassary. This fort, called Chanda Geer, was a place of very great strength from its elevated and almost inaccessible situation on a craggy rock. A practicable breach in the walls being effected by artillery, a party of the English forces was sent to storm it in the night-time ; but while they were vainly endeavouring to clamber up the steep ascent, the Indians, with equal vigilance and activity, poured down upon them such torrents of stones as forced them to desist, after many were buried under the rubbish made by their own cannon. Shame and a sense of honour tempted them to renew the attack on the ensuing night, but they met with no better success. Munro, therefore, drew off his troops, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Benares, an almost open and opulent city, which it was of importance to protect against the incursions of a plundering enemy.

Affairs were thus circumstanced in the beginning of the year 1765, when Major Munro being recalled home, the temporary command of the army devolved on Sir Robert Fletcher, who resolved to do something to signalize himself, before General Carnac, named by the governor and council of

Bengal, could arrive. With this view, he broke up his camp near Benares at midnight of the 14th of January, and marched in quest of the enemy, whom he chased before him. He next turned his thoughts to the reduction of the fort, the siege of which Munro had found it so imprudent to continue, and would probably have found it equally impregnable; but great discontents now prevailed among the garrison, in consequence of their having received no pay for six months. Three breaches being made in the walls, the governor, in sight of his troops, delivered up the keys, with tears in his eyes, declaring that he had endeavoured to act like a soldier; but deserted by his prince, and threatened by a mutinous garrison, he yielded through necessity. The surrender of this fort was quickly followed by a much greater, though not a more difficult conquest. Sir Robert met with little resistance in making himself master of the enemy's capital, called Eliabad, a large and strong city about seventy miles higher up the Ganges, and of such importance as seemingly to complete the ruin of Sujah Doula. Soon after this capture, General Carnac assumed the command of the army, and made the best dispositions for securing the new conquests, as well as for restoring order and government to the country. Nothing occurred, for some time, to give him the least molestation. Sujah Doula was not in a condition immediately to oppose him. The battle of Buxar had given a terrible blow to the nabob's credit and power: Shah Zadda, the mogul, had then deserted him, and gone over to the English: his forces had also gradually crumbled away by frequent and bloody defeats: still, finding a resource in his own steadiness and courage, he resolved not to fall in a weak and inglorious manner. He gathered together, with great assiduity, the remains of his routed armies, and as he knew that

they alone could not prop his falling fortune, he applied for assistance to the Mahrattas, the inhabitants of the mountainous country to the south-west of Oudé, his province. They are an original tribe of Indians, who were never perfectly subdued by the mogul Tartars. Their principal strength consisted in their horse, with which they overran and rendered tributary several provinces, spreading terror and devastation around them. But their fame in arms ceased, when they encountered the English. Meeting Carnac at Calpi on the 20th of May, they were totally routed, and obliged to seek for shelter in their own mountains. Foiled in all his military attempts, Sujah Doula took a resolution altogether worthy of the spirit and policy of his character. Thinking it better to throw his life and fortune upon the generosity of a brave enemy, than to wander a forlorn exile, dependant on the uncertain hospitality of neighbours, who might purchase their own safety by his ruin, he determined to anticipate his fate, and to surrender himself. Having, with a spirit of fidelity unusual in that country, allowed Cossim and the assassin Someraw to escape, he appeared three days after the action at Calpi in General Carnac's camp, nothing being previously stipulated in his favour, but that he should await Lord Clive's determination.

On the first intelligence received by the India company that this war had broken out, they were struck with the utmost consternation. Under the influence of such a panic, nothing seemed to them capable of re-establishing their affairs but the name and fortune of Lord Clive, to whom former success had given the character of invincible among the superstitious Indians. The company forgot, that other officers had gained equal honour, though not equal fortunes, in that part of the world. As if the enemies were at their gates, they created a dictator:

they invested him and four other gentlemen with unlimited authority to examine and determine every thing, independently of the council, as long as Bengal remained in a state of war and confusion. These extraordinary powers were not granted without a vigorous opposition, but the select committee, as it was called, sailed for Bengal. In the mean time Mir Jaffier, who had experienced such a variety of fortunes, died, and nominated his son, Naijem Doula, his successor. The council of Calcutta, after some deliberation, confirmed his choice, even to the exclusion of the male issue of a deceased elder son, because it was conformable to the Mussulman custom, which permits the latter to leave the succession to any of his own surviving sons, in preference to his grandson in the elder branch; and because, from the favourite son's personal character, he seemed likely to be contented with a moderate share of power. But previous to his receiving this honour, the terms were prescribed, on which he was to be admitted to it. The late subah had been bound by treaty to maintain an army of 12,000 horse and as many foot; instead of which, as they had never been found serviceable, the new one was obliged to settle 800,000*l.* a year, payable out of his treasury, upon the company, who undertook to maintain a sufficient force for his and their own security. He was entirely freed from the trouble of keeping any soldiers, except a few for parade. It was likewise resolved, that he should discard his tutor and prime minister, Nuncomar, and receive in his room a person appointed by the council, who was to act in the same double capacity, as instructor of his youth, and chief manager in his goverment. The council assumed a negative in the nomination of superintendents and other officers employed in collecting or receiving the revenues; and insisted on the subah's paying all due respect

to any complaints, which they might prefer against the behaviour of those who already were, or should be appointed. Notwithstanding Naijem Doula's inexperience, and the supposed pliancy of his character, he made a firm opposition to these terms. The being obliged to part with Nuncomar, and to accept of a minister whom he could consider in no other light than as a spy upon his actions, was particularly galling. He also objected to several of the regulations that were proposed, in regard to the collection of the revenues; and insisted on the sole and uncontrolled nomination of his own officers. But the force of his remonstrances on any of those points was of little service to him; and his attempts to soften the deputies, who had been sent to negociate the treaty, proved equally fruitless. Not the smallest relaxation was to be obtained; and disagreeable as the terms were, he found it necessary to sign them, or to relinquish all his fondest hopes and pretensions. Large presents were also bestowed, according to the constant practice, on the English negociators, who, though inflexible with respect to the articles, were ready to accept of any other acknowledgments from the subah, as the price of his elevation.

Among various abuses which had lately engaged the attention of the company, this practice of receiving presents was deemed most injurious to the general interest. Covenants were therefore sent out from England to be signed by all the company's servants, not to accept of any such presents for the future. These instruments, though they had arrived, were not signed before the date of the treaty with Naijem Doula; and, as particular mention was made that they should affect no previous acts, the negociators did not imagine that their late conduct could be called in question. Matters appeared in a

different light to the secret committee. They began a rigorous inquiry into the whole proceedings, and passed several resolutions severely reflecting on the council and its deputies. Their pretence was, that luxury, corruption, and the avidity of amassing large fortunes in a little time, had so universally infected the company's servants, that nothing less than a total reform, a perfect eradication of these vices, could preserve the settlement from immediate ruin. "Fortunes of 100,000*l.*," said Lord Clive, "have been acquired in the space of two years, and individuals, very young in the service, are returning home with a million and a half." The charge was retorted by the accused party, who said, that such objections came with a very bad grace from men who were much more culpable, having amassed princely fortunes by the very same means: that the presents were conformable to the custom of the country, and to the practice of the company's servants in all former periods; and were accepted with great honour, as all the proposed articles were previously settled, without giving up a single point, though large offers had been made for that purpose. These dissentions were increased by the select committee's having sent for several gentlemen to Madras, to fill up vacancies which had happened in the council at Calcutta, thereby bringing strangers in, over the heads of those whose turn it was, in right of succession, to have filled those places. So extraordinary a step excited loud complaints; and a memorial, signed by all the junior and two of the senior servants, was sent home to the court of directors. As tranquillity was re-established before the arrival of the committee, it was argued that their commission was null and void. Regardless of these charges, however, they exerted every power mentioned in their instructions to the full extent, making little or

no use of the council, whom they sometimes acquainted with transactions, but without license to give any opinion upon them.

In the mean time, Lord Clive repaired to the army at Eliabad; full powers being vested in him and General Carnac by the select committee to conclude a peace with Sujah Doula, whom the council, on account of his obstinacy and implacability, had deprived of his dominions. The Shah Zadda, who had now succeeded his father as mogul, and had remained with the English since the battle of Buxar, was to take possession of the deposed nabob's territories, as he had discovered an attachment to the English, and engaged in the war against his inclination. These arrangements were entirely disapproved of by Lord Clive: he restored his province to Sujah Doula, and disappointed the sanguine hopes of the mogul. He said, that the company's affairs were likely to be involved in an inextricable labyrinth; that the success of their arms promised nothing but a succession of future wars; and that to ruin Sujah Doula was to break down the strongest barrier which the Bengal provinces could have against the invasions of the Mahrattas, Afghans, and other powers, who had so long desolated the northern districts. The mogul, whose cause the council had favoured, his lordship represented as utterly incapable of collecting the revenues of Sujah Doula's country, without the assistance of the company's whole force; nor could their connexion with him end here: they must have marched their army to Delhi, and established his authority in the empire. For these reasons, his territories were restored to the nabob of Oudé; a small tract of land, yielding 250,000*l.* annually, being reserved for the mogul, who was thus enabled to raise some forces, and to take possession of his capital. The company were constituted dewans, or perpetual collectors of the

revenues of Bengal under the mogul, to whom they in return engaged to pay twenty-six lacks of rupees yearly, amounting to 325,000*l.* in English money. The nabob, who was to be the acting collector under the company, was also allowed by them an annual revenue of 662,500*l.* for the support of his dignity, and the expenses of his civil government. They likewise guarantied the respective territories of Sujah Doula and the mogul, and obtained several articles in favour of their own inland trade.

The advantages accruing to the company from this treaty were said to be immense. According to the noble lord who concluded it, they would receive a clear yearly income of 1,700,000*l.* exempt from all charges, expenses, and deductions. By such a large accession of treasure, they would be enabled to make proper investments from Bengal to China, without draining England of its silver, for the payment of the great balance in trade which is constantly due to that country. The security and permanence which the company were likely to acquire, in consequence of the treaty, tended greatly to enforce the policy of such a measure. As they now became a part of the empire according to its ancient constitution, they were sure of all the support which the mogul could give; and as they had a large revenue appropriated to the purpose of maintaining a sufficient force for their protection, they were no longer in danger of falling victims to the avarice or caprice of the nabobs. But it was argued, on the other hand, that the treaty was equally inconsistent with the honour and interest of the company; that in breaking the former treaty made with the mogul, whereby he was to be put in possession of all Sujah Doula's dominions, the faith of the company and of the nation, which had ever been held so sacred in that part of the world, was entirely forfeited; while the English settlements were, at the same time,

deprived of a strong and lasting barrier, and that Major Munro might long before have obtained as advantageous terms, but, as a previous condition, he insisted that Cossim, the author of the war, and Someraw, the murderer of seventy-two English gentlemen, should be delivered up. The escape of Someraw cannot fail to excite indignation and regret; but Clive, who directed the negociation, had little sense of honour, justice, or humanity. At the same time, he certainly introduced into the army several very judicious regulations. He put the troops in the country on a new footing; he ordered barracks to be built for them in proper places; he also divided them into three parts, each of which was to consist of one regiment of European infantry, one company of artillery, and seven battalions of seapoys, each battalion to consist of 700 rank and file. One of these divisions was stationed at Eliabad, a second at Patna, and the third in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. These arrangements were well calculated to preserve the tranquillity of the empire, and to secure to the company the fruits of their late acquisitions. The steps afterwards taken by the English ministry to render the prosperity of the company subservient to the national welfare, will be a subject of future consideration; their thoughts were at that time unfortunately engaged by objects of more immediate concern.

Almost every day brought alarming intelligence of the violent proceedings of the populace against the stamp-act in North America. When the report of its having received the royal assent first reached Boston, the ships in the harbour hung out their colours half mast high, in token of deep mourning: the bells being muffled rang a dumb peal: the act itself was printed with a death's head impressed upon it, in the place where it is usual to fix the stamp; and was publicly cried about the streets by

the name of the "folly of England, and ruin of America:" essays, denying not only the expediency, but the equity and legality, of the measure, appeared in various newspapers: to these were added caricatures, pasquinades, puns, criticisms, and such vulgar sayings fitted to the occasion, as, on account of their brevity, were easily circulated and retained, and from their inflammatory tendency could not fail of preparing the minds of the rabble to take fire, the moment any attempt should be made to carry the act into execution. The ferment gradually spread to the middling and to the higher ranks of the people; and when authentic copies of the act from the King's printing-house appeared amongst them, it was treated with all the contempt and indignation which could be expressed by public authority against the most offensive libel. It was burnt, in various places, with the effigies of the men supposed to be most active in getting it passed; and the warmest gratitude and respect were testified towards those who had made the most strenuous opposition to it in the English House of Commons. Such masters of ships as took out stamps for the colonies, found reason to repent of their boldness when they arrived at their destined ports. In order to save their vessels from fire, and their persons from the gallows, most of them were obliged to deliver up the stamps to the enraged multitude, who treated them with the same ignominy which the act itself had experienced; while a few took shelter under any of the King's ships that happened to be at hand to protect them. Gentlemen who were appointed to act as distributors of the stamps were made to renounce, publicly and upon oath, all concern in them at that or any future period; and some who were suspected of having spoken too freely of the conduct of the populace, saw their effects plundered, and their houses burnt to the ground. Nay,

ships bringing stamped mercantile or custom-house papers, merely for their own security, from those colonies which had thought proper to submit to the act, were forced to part with them, to be stuck up in derision in taverns and coffee-houses, and then publicly committed to the flames. The provincial assemblies, though they could not at first avoid disapproving of such tumults, yet refused their sanction to any rigorous or effectual measures for suppressing them. This backwardness on their part to strengthen the hands of the executive power was highly applauded in some places by meetings of the freeholders, who directed their representatives not to agree to any steps for the protection of stamp-papers, or stamp-officers, and to guard against all unconstitutional drafts on the public treasury. But the general assemblies went still further. Instead of barely conniving at the tumultuous acts of the people in support of what was termed independence, they proceeded to justify them by arguments; and though they resolved to petition the legislature of Great Britain against the stamp-act, it was in such terms as served rather to express their weakness than their submission. Committees of correspondence were established in the different colonies, and select persons were deputed from them to a congress at New York, where they met in October, and signed one general declaration of their pretended rights, and one general petition expressive of their alleged grievances. The merchants also entered into solemn engagements not to order any more goods from Great Britain; to recal the orders already given, if not executed by the 1st of January, 1766; and even not to dispose of any British goods sent them on commission after that time, unless not only the stamp-act, but the sugar and paper-money acts, were repealed. The people of Philadelphia resolved, though not unanimously, that, till such

repeal, no remittances should be made for debts already contracted, nor any lawyers be suffered to commence a suit against a resident in America, in behalf of British claimants. Societies in like manner, were formed for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and plans adopted for shaking off all dependance on the mother country for any of the necessaries or conveniences of life. It should be observed, however, that the warehouses of a great number of the American merchants were then full of British goods, for which they had not paid, so that some of their resolutions might justly be suspected to proceed from fraud or dishonesty, as well as from patriotism; and there is no doubt but the diffusion of the flame, which at that time spread so rapidly over eight of the colonies, was owing, in no inconsiderable degree, to the wicked efforts of interested and ambitious men.

But by whatever motives the majority of the American malecontents were actuated, the effects of their disaffection and resistance were quickly and severely felt by the mother country. Her manufactures were at a stand; the principal sources of her commerce were cut off: a numerous populace was thrown out of employment; while provisions became extravagantly dear, and public credit received a severe shock by the total stoppage of remittances from the colonies. The situation of the ministry was, at this juncture, peculiarly critical. They knew that the framers and supporters of the stamp-act would insist on the policy and necessity of quelling, at the very outset, the daring resistance of the colonies to the legislative authority of Great Britain. They were also aware, that Mr. Pitt and his adherents would contend for the absolute surrender or disavowal of the right of taxing the Americans. Between these opposite extremes, they thought it safest to choose a middle course,

and neither to precipitate affairs with the colonists by the rashness of their councils, nor to sacrifice the dignity of the crown or nation by irresolution or weakness. Their dispatches to the American governors were written with spirit, yet with temper, so as not to engage the executive power too deeply, but to leave it still at the option of the supreme legislature to advise pacific measures. The only strong objection which could be urged against such a mode of proceeding was, that when the authority of any government is openly despised, ridiculed, and trampled upon, moderation may cease to be the dictate of either wisdom or virtue.

In this situation were affairs when the Parliament met on the 17th of December. Particular notice was taken from the throne of the importance of the matters which had occurred in North America, and which were given as a reason for assembling the two Houses sooner than was intended, promising, at the same time, that the fullest accounts should be prepared for their inspection. An address having been resolved, in answer to the King's speech, a motion was made by the opposition for requesting his Majesty to give orders, that copies of all letters, instructions, &c. sent to the governors and officers of the crown in North America, with the answers thereto, and all other papers relative to the late disturbances there, should be laid before the House, although it had been declared from the throne, that the fullest accounts of those matters should be submitted to Parliament. This motion was not very candid with regard to the ministry, most of whose friends had vacated their seats in consequence of the late changes. After a sharp debate, the previous question being put, it was carried in the negative by a majority of seventy to thirty-five. The House then issued the necessary writs, and adjourned for the holidays.

When both Houses met on the 14th of January, according to their adjournment, a second speech from the throne pointed out the American affairs as the principal object of their deliberations. An address was moved, according to custom, and agreed to without a division, but not without a warm debate, occasioned chiefly by some digressive remarks on the stamp-act. Mr. Pitt condemned in the gross the measures of the late ministry, again alluding to the secret influence of the Earl of Bute, by which, he openly insinuated, the national councils were still directed; and to counteract it, he wished for the enforcement of that clause in the act of settlement which directs that every minister should set his name to the advice he may give his sovereign. He said he was ill in bed when the resolution was taken in the House to tax America, or he should have borne his testimony against it. As he could not depend upon health for any future day, he begged leave to say a few words at present on the point of right, it being his opinion, that Great Britain had no right to tax the colonies. He asserted the authority of the mother country over them in every circumstance of government and legislation whatsoever, but contended that taxation was no part of the governing or legislative power: that taxes were a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone: and that the Commons of England had no right to give away the property of the people of America. He admitted that this kingdom had always bound the colonies by her laws, regulations, and restrictions in trade, in navigation, in manufactures—in every thing except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent; but as the duties imposed for the regulation of trade certainly took money out of their pockets, he endeavoured to make a distinction between internal and external taxes, the former being levied for the purposes of raising a revenue,

while the latter were laid on for the accommodation of the subject, though some revenue might incidentally arise from them. To these remarks, Mr. George Grenville, in a spirited reply, censured the new ministry for delaying to give earlier notice to Parliament of the disturbances in America, which, he said, bordered on open rebellion; and if the doctrine he had heard that day were confirmed, would, he feared, lose that name to take that of revolution. He affirmed taxation to be a branch of the sovereign power, that it had been frequently exercised over those who were never represented: and that when he proposed to tax America, the right was by no one called in question. Protection and obedience were reciprocal. The seditious spirit of the colonies, he said, owes its birth to the factions in this House. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience: what was this but telling America to stand out against the law? to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence? Ungrateful people of America! The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; bounties have been extended to them; in their favour the act of navigation, that palladium of the British commerce, has been relaxed; and, now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion. Mr. Pitt made a second harangue, of considerable length, to justify the resistance of the Americans, and to apologize for the silence of his own party, when the question of right had been repeatedly submitted to the consideration of the House. He concluded his speech with recommending that the stamp-act be repealed, absolutely, totally, and unconditionally. During the debate, it was asserted that petitions for the re-

peal of the stamp-act were encouraged by ministers; and as they had evidently resolved on its repeal, there is no doubt of their being desirous to have it supposed that they yielded rather to the voice of the English nation, than to the remonstrances of the Americans.

While the attention of the Commons was earnestly engaged in examining the papers relative to the American troubles, which were laid before the House by his Majesty's order, petitions were received from most of the commercial and manufacturing towns in the kingdom, setting forth the great decay of their trade in consequence of the new laws and regulations made for America, and earnestly soliciting the immediate interposition of Parliament. Petitions were also received from the agents for Virginia and Georgia, representing their inability to pay the stamp duty; and one from the agent for the island of Jamaica, explaining the bad effects of a similar tax which had been laid on in that island by the assembly, but was soon suffered to expire, on being found unequal and burdensome; and suggesting the probability, that the like experiment in the colonies would be attended with still greater inconveniences. Though the urgency of the matter occasioned the House to attend to it with unwearied application, the nature of the inquiries, the number of petitions received, and the multitude of papers and witnesses to be examined, were attended with long and unavoidable delays. Among those who appeared before the committee of the whole House was Dr. Franklin, as agent for America. He was bred to the trade of a printer, and had, by his own exertions, acquired a competent fortune. His eloquence was simple, but nervous and commanding; and his style, both in writing and speaking, calculated to make a forcible impression on the mind. He described, in very em-

phatical terms, the inability of the colonies to pay the stamp duty; the general discontent it had occasioned; and the impracticability of enforcing that, or any other internal tax imposed by the British legislature, expressing, at the same time, his belief that the Americans would be satisfied if the stamp-act were repealed; and that the resolutions of right, (on which the declaratory bill was afterwards founded,) would give them little concern, if they were never attempted to be carried into practice. How different is the language of a zealous advocate from the testimony of an impartial witness! During the debates to which this important subject gave rise, satisfactory demonstrations seemed to have been given, that protection was the only true ground on which the right of taxation could be founded: that the obligation between the colonies and the mother country, was natural and reciprocal, consisting of defence on the one side, and obedience on the other: that they must be dependant in all points on the parent state, or else not belong to it at all: that the distinction between internal and external taxes was not more repugnant to common sense than to facts, and to the frequent and unopposed exercise of the parliamentary authority of Great Britain in the one case as well as in the other: and that the greater part of the people of England, who were non-electors, might with as much reason object to taxes on the ground of being only virtually represented, as the inhabitants of the colonies. Upon the question being put, the power of the legislature of Great Britain over her colonies, in all cases whatsoever, and without any distinction in regard to taxation, was confirmed and ascertained, without a division in either House.

The grand committee who had passed the resolutions on which the foregoing question was debated,

had also passed another for the total repeal of the stamp-act; and two bills were brought in accordingly. By the resolutions, on which the former was founded, it was declared that tumults and insurrections of the most dangerous nature had been raised and carried on in several of the colonies, in open defiance of government, and in manifest violation of the laws and legislative authority of the mother country; and that these tumults and insurrections had been encouraged and inflamed by several votes and resolutions, which had been passed in the assemblies of the said colonies, derogatory to the honour of government, and destructive to their legal and constitutional dependency on the crown and parliament of Great Britain. By the bill itself, all these votes, resolutions, and orders of the American assemblies were annulled and reprobated; and the ministry having thereby secured, as they imagined, the dependence of the colonies, and provided for the honour and dignity of Great Britain, and its constitutional superiority over them, contended for the expediency of repealing an act, which they said was injudicious, oppressive, and incapable of being enforced but by fire and sword. The late ministry and their friends, who supported the new administration in the debate on the question of right, opposed the repeal with considerable strength both of argument and numbers. But in spite of all their efforts, it passed upon a division by a majority of 275 to 167, and was carried up to the Lords by above 200 members of the House of Commons. The eclat, however, with which it was introduced into the Upper House, did not prevent its meeting with a strong opposition there also. Thirty-three lords entered a strong protest against it at the second reading; as twenty-eight did at the third. Among the reasons assigned for their dissent, some of which have since been

too fully verified by events, they declared their opinion, that the total repealing of the stamp-act, while such an outrageous resistance was continued by the colonies, would make the authority of Great Britain contemptible hereafter; and that the ability of our North American colonies to bear, without inconvenience, the proportion laid on them by the stamp-act appeared unquestionable.

On the 18th of March, two days after the date of the second protest, the bill for repealing the stamp-act, as well as that which proposed to secure the dependency of the colonies on the British crown, received the royal assent. The American merchants and others interested in the trade did not neglect any means of testifying their joy on the occasion: several ships in the river displayed their colours; and, at night, houses were illuminated all over the city. The ministry were still more successful in other steps which they took to gain popularity. They had a bill passed for the repeal of the cyder-act, and for substituting in its place a new duty entirely different in the mode of collection. General warrants and the seizure of papers, except in cases provided for by act of Parliament, were declared to be illegal, and to be a breach of privilege, if executed against any member; but a bill founded on these resolutions of the Commons was thrown out by the Lords, as unnecessary and frivolous. The old duties upon houses and windows were abolished; and the rates were settled with much more equity and ease to the lower and middling ranks of the people. Two bills were also passed at the close of the session on the 6th of June, for which the friends of the ministry thought they deserved some praise, at least from the mercantile part of the community: the one was for opening free ports, under certain restrictions, in different parts of the West Indies; and the other

was a law indemnifying those who had incurred any penalties in consequence of the stamp-act, and requiring compensation to be made by the American assemblies to such persons as had suffered in their property by the late riots. In this detail of the merits of the Marquis of Rockingham's administration, it must not be forgotten that he removed some restraints which were considered as heavy clogs on the colonial trade; that he settled, to the satisfaction of the owners, the long contested affair of the Canada bills; and that he concluded with Russia a commercial treaty, which procured him the unanimous thanks of the Russia company. He also made a progress in bringing to a termination the matter of the Manilla ransom, which the subterfuges of Spain had thrown into neglect.

But all these smaller claims to esteem could not supply the want of experience, decision, and firmness, in the more important concerns of the state. The Duke of Grafton, one of the secretaries, feeling the instability of his colleagues, or unwilling, as he pretended, to act without Mr. Pitt, resigned in the beginning of May; and though his place was immediately filled by the Duke of Richmond, his retreat at that juncture was generally looked upon as a strong symptom of the probable dismission of his late associates. They did not long maintain their ground after Parliament was prorogued, and their fall is said to have been accelerated by the following circumstance. After the repeal of the stamp-act, which the marquis and his friends looked upon as the only method of conciliating the affections of the refractory colonies, they took into consideration the state of Canada, for which province no complete system of government had yet been formed, and submitted the sketch of a plan, preparatory to a bill for that purpose, to Lord Northington, the chancellor. He had never been very cordially their

friend, and now, perhaps, glad of a favourable opportunity of expressing his dislike, condemned the whole measure in the most unqualified terms of disapprobation: he even went to the King, and complained to his Majesty of the unfitness of his ministers, adding, that they could not go on, and that Mr. Pitt must be sent for. In consequence of these assertions, the chancellor was commissioned to confer with Mr. Pitt on the subject of a new arrangement. As his refusal of former offers had solely arisen from their not allowing him to fill all the departments of the state with whom he pleased, that objection was now removed by the chancellor's assuring him that the King had no terms to propose; and the same assurance was afterwards confirmed to him by the King himself, to whom he was introduced at Richmond, on the 12th of July. Lord Temple, who was then at Stowe, being sent for by his Majesty's order, came to town with all possible dispatch; and having first paid his respects to the King, waited next upon Mr. Pitt, who said that, considering his lordship indispensable, he had requested the King to make him first lord of the treasury, and that he himself would take the post of privy-seal: he at the same time produced a list of persons who were to take places under them, which, he added, was not to be altered. Lord Temple, hurt at this peremptory declaration, intimated that he could not accept a situation of high responsibility, unless he had at least an equal share of power with Mr. Pitt. Lord Temple conceded that his brother, Mr. Grenville, should support the ministry without either place or influence; but his nomination of Earl Gower and Lord Lyttleton to official situations being positively rejected, he said that this conduct showed Mr. Pitt's determination to be sole and absolute dictator, to which no consideration should ever induce him to submit; he therefore

closed the conference with saying, that if he had been first called upon by the King, he should have consulted Mr. Pitt's honour with regard to the arrangement of ministers, and have given him an *equal* share in the nomination; and that he thought himself ill-treated in having experienced a different line of conduct.

It is unnecessary to make any remarks on Mr. Pitt's behaviour at this conference. He weakly fancied that his name alone would establish a ministry, and that the first men in the kingdom would be ready at a call to enlist under his banner, and to take whatever post he might think proper to assign them; but a few experiments convinced him of his mistake. He made various offers to different persons of great weight and consideration, with a view of detaching them from their friends; he tampered with the Duke of Portland, late lord chamberlain; with Mr. Dowdeswell, the late chancellor of the exchequer; and even with Lord Gower, to whom he proposed the office of secretary of state, though he had set his face against the very same appointment, when suggested by Lord Temple. All his offers were rejected. He then went to the Marquis of Rockingham's; but the marquis refused to see him. Rendered desperate by these rebuffs, he formed an administration, which was thus described by Mr. Burke: "He put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dove-tailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; King's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show; but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on.—When he had accomplished his scheme of administration, he was no longer a minister."—

The sceptre of absolute control, which he was so fond of wielding, fell from his infirm grasp; and he was confined in reality to that *side-place*, as Lord Temple called it, whence he hoped to have directed the operations of those who stood in the foremost ranks of power and responsibility. The arrangement took place on the 30th of July.—Mr. Pitt, being then created Viscount Pynsent and Earl of Chatham, received the privy-seal, lately held by the Duke of Newcastle: the Duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the treasury, in the room of the Marquis of Rockingham; and Charles Townshend succeeded Mr. Dowdeswell as chancellor of the exchequer: General Conway was continued in the office of secretary of state, but had for his colleague the Earl of Shelburne, instead of the Duke of Richmond: and Lord Camden was made lord chancellor in the room of Lord Northington, who exchanged the wool-sack for the president's chair. Among other changes which took place about this time, Mr. Stuart Mackenzie, brother to the Earl of Bute, was restored to his office of privy-seal for Scotland.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Scarcity of provisions—Riots—Embargo on the exportation of corn—East India Company—Birth of the Princess Royal, and marriage of Carolina Matilda—Meeting of Parliament—Indemnity Bill—Embargo continued—Land tax reduced—Decline of Lord Chatham's influence—East India affairs—American Taxation—Additional grant to the King's brothers—Close of the session—Death of the Duke of York—Birth of the Duke of Kent—Death of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Meeting of Parliament—Provision bills renewed and amended—Alterations in the ministry—Expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain, Naples, Portugal, and France—Abolition of the Order by Pope Ganganelli—Disturbances among the Silk Weavers—Supplies—East India dividends—Nullum Tempus bill—Corporation of Oxford reprimanded for venality—Dissolution of Parliament—Irish octennial act—White Boys and Levellers—General Election—Wilkes returns to England, and is elected for Middlesex, though an outlaw—Proceedings against him, and riots in his favour—Young Allen shot—First session of the new Parliament—Wilkes's sentence—Corsica—Opposition to the Port duties in America—Consequent proceedings of the British Government and of the Americans—Lords Shelburne and Chatham resign—Meeting of Parliament—Wilkes's petition and appeal—State of parties—Death of Princess Louisa Anne—Cook's first voyage—Insitution of the Royal Academy.*

THOUGH the general tranquillity of Europe still remained undisturbed by the spirit of intrigue, or by

the rage of conquest, some of its finest countries were severely afflicted by other calamities. The irregularity and inclemency of the seasons for a few years past had occasioned an uncertainty and great deficiency in the crops of different districts; and were it not for that happy effect of navigation and commerce, by which the wants of one nation are supplied from the superabundance of another, famine would have thinned the race of mankind in many places. Italy in particular had suffered extremely; and even England, which had usually supplied its neighbours with immense quantities of grain, and allowed a considerable bounty on the exportation of it, was now threatened with an alarming scarcity. So wet a summer as that of the present year had not been remembered in this country. From the month of March to the month of August, there were not two days of dry weather in succession. The corn harvest, of course, was very much injured; and the distresses of the poor, from the high prices of that and of every other article of subsistence, became uncommonly urgent. The language of complaint was soon followed by riots and tumults, which the populace are too apt to look upon as the only means of alleviating every evil, or redressing every grievance. At first, they only undertook to lower and regulate the markets, and to punish certain individuals, who, they imagined, had contributed to their calamities by engrossing, and other practices for enhancing the price of provisions beyond their just rate. But they did not long confine themselves to these objects. Heated by mutual commotion, they proceeded to the most enormous excesses: much mischief was done, and many lives were lost in various parts of the kingdom. The magistrates being at length obliged to call in the military to the aid of the civil power, the rioters were dispersed, and the gaols filled with

prisoners. Judges were in consequence dispatched with a special commission to try the delinquents, several of whom were condemned to die. A few of the ringleaders suffered as examples; but the sentence of the majority was mitigated to transportation, and many received a free pardon. The conduct of the new ministry on this occasion was far from being politic or judicious. On the 11th of September, the privy-council issued a proclamation for enforcing the laws against forestallers, regraters, and engrossers of corn; a measure that countenanced the absurd ideas of the mob, by declaring that scarcity to be artificial which was but too natural. Besides, the laws in question were so dark in their construction, and so difficult in the execution, that little effect could be expected from this step but that of banishing dealers from the markets, and increasing the evil which it was intended to remedy. This truth was so well understood, that very little regard was paid to the proclamation, and the frivolous expedient fell to the ground: but the price of corn still increasing, another was issued on the 26th of the same month, laying an embargo on the exportation of wheat and flour, and prohibiting the use of that grain in the distilleries. This proclamation was certainly much better adapted to its end than the former, but much more doubtful in point of law. Wheat had not yet reached the price, under which it might be legally exported. No authority, therefore, but that of the whole legislature, could lay a constitutional embargo on it. By way of excuse for dispensing with a positive law, in the proclamation it was stated, that his Majesty had not an opportunity of taking the advice of his Parliament speedily enough, upon such an emergency, to stop the progress of the mischief, but the privy-council had destroyed the validity of this plea, by having pro-

rogued it from the 16th of September, till the 11th of November.

Some other events took place before the meeting of Parliament, which, as well as the former, engaged in a greater or less degree the attention of both Houses. The most important of these were the debates and resolutions of the proprietors of East India stock. They had long expected, in consequence of the flourishing state of their affairs abroad, that a larger dividend would be declared by the directors; and that all the members of the company should enjoy a share of those sweets which were the consequence of their foreign success, and which they saw hitherto entirely engrossed by their servants. This seemed to them the more reasonable as the dividend then stood at six *per cent.*, the lowest point to which it had ever been reduced at the most critical period of the war. In their opinion, such a small dividend agreed but ill with a great revenue and its promised stability, and tended to create an artificial fall in the price of stock, to the great loss of the present possessors, and to the advantage of future adventurers. These inclinations of the proprietors did not by any means coincide with the sentiments of the directors. While the greatest part of the former considered only the successes of the company, the directors saw nothing but its debts. Two parties arose upon this subject, by one of which it was intended, if the directors did not voluntarily declare an increase of dividend at the Midsummer court, to put it to the question, and have it decided by the majority of the proprietors present. As this intention was publicly known, its success was prevented. A friend of the directors, at the opening of the court, made a motion for increasing the dividend to eight *per cent.*, which being disapproved, he immediately withdrew it, and thereby put it out of the power of the proprietors

to bring on the subject again at that meeting, such a procedure being contrary to the established forms of the court. The conduct of the directors in this transaction was scrutinized with great severity: and the public papers being made the instruments of attack and defence, the contest was for some time carried on with great animosity, each party accusing the other of the most corrupt designs, and of misrepresenting, for private purposes, the real state of the company's affairs. This course of altercation was productive of consequences which were then but little foreseen. Every thing relative to the company was now laid before the public: the exact state of their immense property became known to all persons: their most private secrets were unveiled: their charters, their rights, their possessions, their opulence as a distinct body, and their utility to the state, were become matters of general speculation and inquiry. As the Michaelmas quarterly meeting approached, at which there could be no doubt but the great object of dispute between the contending parties would come again upon the carpet, it was previously whispered about by the friends of one of them, that government intended to interfere, and had absolutely forbidden any increase of dividend, denouncing threats against the company which struck at its existence. A report of this sort excited a variety of conjectures; but most people looked upon it as a trick to answer the purposes of the directors. All doubt was removed at the opening of the general court on the 24th of September, when a message in writing from the treasury was read, setting forth, that as the affairs of the East India Company had been mentioned in Parliament last session, it was very probable they might be taken into consideration again: that the company, therefore, might have time to prepare their papers for that occasion, they

were informed that the Parliament would meet in November. Letters were at the same time read from Lord Clive, and from the secret committee at Bengal, which not only confirmed, but exceeded the accounts that had been formerly received of the great wealth of the company, the extension of its trade, and the firm basis on which, as far as human foresight could judge, its security was established. The directors still opposed an increase of dividend; and, upon a motion being made for advancing the dividend to ten *per cent.* from the ensuing Christmas, they insisted upon a ballot, by which the decision was evaded for a day or two, but was at length carried against them by a considerable majority. Some of the proprietors, however, thought their success in this contest purchased at too dear a rate, by having drawn upon themselves the eyes of the ministry. A few months more gave them an earnest of what they so justly apprehended.

The air of seriousness, which a variety of weighty concerns had lately diffused over the nation, was for a time enlivened by the birth of a princess-royal, and the nuptials of the Princess Caroline Matilda. The first took place on Michaelmas day, between six and seven o'clock in the morning; and, at noon, her Majesty's safe delivery was announced to the public by the firing of the Tower guns, and other demonstrations of joy. The ceremony of the Princess's marriage to the King of Denmark was performed on the 1st of October by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of York being proxy for his Danish Majesty. Next morning the young Queen, accompanied by the Duke of Gloucester, and a numerous train of attendants, set out from Carlton House for Harwich, there to embark on board the yacht designed to convey her to Holland. She did not reach Denmark till the beginning of

November, on the 8th of which she made her public entry into Copenhagen, when the nuptial ceremony was renewed with extraordinary splendour and magnificence. The satisfaction expressed at the time by the subjects of both crowns, from an idea that the alliance between them would be greatly strengthened by an additional tie of so agreeable a nature, was soon converted into the most painful disappointment. In little more than five years after, the amiable Caroline Matilda fell a victim to the malice of a party, and to the wicked intrigues of the Queen-dowager, who imposed upon her unsuspecting innocence, and artfully led her into measures which were made the grounds of the most infamous reproach and crimination.

At the meeting of the Parliament on the 11th of November, the King, in his speech to both Houses, observed that the high price of wheat, and the extraordinary demands for it from abroad, had determined him to call them together so early: he took notice of the urgent necessity that occasioned an exertion of the royal authority, for the preservation of the public safety, by laying an embargo on wheat and flour; and he recommended the due consideration of farther expedients to their wisdom: he expressed his concern at the late daring insurrections; and added, that no vigilance and vigour on his part should be wanting to bring the offenders to justice, and to restore obedience to law and government. His Majesty concluded with a few very concise remarks on the late commercial treaty with Russia, on the marriage of his sister to the King of Denmark, on the supplies for the current service, and on the continuance of the former pacific posture of affairs in Europe. The usual motion for an address being made in both Houses, various amendments were proposed, reflecting on the late conduct of the privy-council, but were rejected. This,

however, did not supersede the necessity of bringing a bill into Parliament, to indemnify all persons who had acted in obedience to the order of council for laying on the embargo. Nobody denied the expediency of such a restraint at that time: it was the *mode* of the transaction which deserved censure, as by it the crown seemed to assume and exercise a power of dispensing with the laws,—one of the grievances so expressly provided against at the revolution. Those who conducted the ministerial business in the House of Commons, gave but little opposition to the bill when it was suggested to them: a principal servant of the crown brought it in; and there appeared, on this occasion, plain marks of some disagreement in opinion among the ministry. The first form of the bill was found to be defective: it provided for the indemnity of the inferior officers who had acted under the proclamation, while it passed by the council who advised it; and it had not a preamble fully expressive of the illegality of the measure. In these respects the bill was amended, but this produced much altercation, especially in the House of Lords, where, to the astonishment of most people, the newly created Earl of Chatham, and Lord Camden, the chancellor, opposed the bill, and vindicated the late exertion of royal prerogative, not only from the peculiar circumstances that seemed to influence it, but as a matter of right, asserting that a dispensing power, in cases of state necessity, was one of the prerogatives inherent in the crown. This desertion from the side of liberty, to principles so directly opposite, gave a mortal stab to the popularity of those occasional patriots. The fallacy of their pretexts as well as of their reasonings was exposed, and the cause of freedom and of the constitution was ably supported by Lord Mansfield, Lord Temple, and Lord Lyttleton. After canvassing the mo-

tives for the late exertion of power, the advocates for the bill forcibly attacked the doctrine of a dispensing power in such cases. They argued that if, under the pretence of necessity, it were once admitted as constitutional, the revolution could be called nothing but a successful rebellion, or a lawless and wicked invasion of the rights of the crown; the bill of rights would become a false and scandalous libel, an infamous imposition both on prince and people; and James the Second could not be said to have abdicated or forfeited, but to have been robbed of his crown. The bill was passed, highly to the satisfaction of the public; and a new proof was given to the admirers of the British constitution, that nothing less than a law could protect the framers, advisers, or executors of an illegal act.

While the Parliament discovered so much vigilance in guarding the constitution against any encroachment, even under the most popular pretence, they were not less attentive to the national distress, on account of which the laws had been dispensed with. On the first day of the session, an address was presented to the King to continue the embargo; and a bill was, on the same day, brought in for prohibiting the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, biscuit, and starch; and also the extraction of low wines and spirits from wheat and wheat-flour. Four other bills, having for their object the reduction of the high prices of provisions, by encouraging the importation of salted meat and butter from Ireland, of wheat and flour, not only from America, but from any part of Europe, and of oats and oat-meal, rye and rye-meal, from any quarter, all duty free, received the royal assent by commission on the 16th of December, when both Houses adjourned till January.

Among the affairs which came before Parliament

after the recess, there was one article of the supplies, in the debate on which the chancellor of the exchequer was left in a minority. It had been hitherto usual to take off, on the return of peace, any addition that happened to be made to the land-tax for carrying on the war, but as the enormous expenses incurred in the late contest with so many powers were already a heavy burden on the manufacturing part of the nation, it was thought more prudent to continue the land-tax at four shillings in the pound, than to increase the distresses of the poor by taxing the necessaries of life. Hence the whole land-tax began to be considered as a part of the settled revenue that was to answer the current services of the year. It was then, to the great surprise of the ministers, that a resolution passed the House, supported by a considerable majority, which reduced the land-tax to three shillings in the pound. This was the more noticed as being the first money-bill in which any minister had been disappointed since the revolution. It considerably damped the warm hopes that had been formed, in the beginning, of the strength and consistence of the new administration, which, it was supposed, would prove irresistible, as acting under the auspices of the Earl of Chatham. But this noble lord had lost much of his popularity without doors, and of his influence within, by many parts of his late conduct. He had disgusted by his overbearing manner the most respectable and powerful men of every party; and he had sunk greatly in the public estimation by his acceptance of a peerage, and by his having defended, upon unconstitutional grounds, the exercise of the dispensing prerogative. Feeling, though too late, the want of additional support, he made several attempts in the course of the winter, by offers and concessions not much to his honour, to gain over, or to divide, the Bedford or Newcas-

tle interest. But the most that he could gain from the former was a temporary neutrality. His next step was an attempt to separate the Newcastle from the Rockingham interest; for which purpose he very ungraciously deprived Lord Edgecumbe of his staff as treasurer of the household, and gave it to Mr. Shelley; but the harshness of this dismission cemented the union of the two parties whom the minister wished to divide. The Duke of Portland, lord chamberlain, Sir Charles Saunders, first lord of the admiralty, the Lords Scarborough, Besborough, Monson, Sir William Meredith, Admiral Keppel, and several others, immediately resigned; and though Lord Chatham hoped to supply this desertion of his late friends by a coalition with the Bedford party, when he came to lay before the duke his ultimate plan of measures and arrangements, new obstacles arose, and the negociation was abruptly broken off. Agitated by contending passions, he at length became the prey of vexation and disappointment, and fell into so bad a state of health, that he was obliged to relinquish all attention to business. It is therefore no wonder that he and his colleagues, when they lay almost constantly at the mercy of their opponents, should have hobbled through this session with the most awkward inconsistency.

The want of harmony and decision in the cabinet was still more evident when the East India affairs were brought forward for the consideration of Parliament. A committee of the House of Commons had been appointed in November to look into the state and condition of the company. Copies of their charters, their treaties, and their correspondence, as well as exact accounts of their revenue and of the expenses incurred by government in their behalf, were called for, and became the subjects of a rigorous scrutiny. In the course of this business, vio-

lent debates frequently arose, in which the principal servants of the crown did not appear to act upon any regular or settled plan. An order for printing the East India papers was afterwards countermanded, at the instance of the directors, who represented the ill consequences that would probably attend the printing of their private correspondence. The next question, which was agitated with increasing violence and diversity of sentiment, was the company's right to their territorial acquisitions. Though the subject was often resumed, the House seemed unwilling to determine a question of so much importance; and even a few of the ministerial speakers declared against coming to any final resolutions on this head, but strenuously recommended an amicable agreement with the company. In the mean time, the proprietors of East India stock had several meetings. At one of their general courts in the beginning of May, the dividend for the ensuing half year was raised from five to six and a quarter *per cent.*; and, about the same time, a scheme of proposals for an accommodation with government was agreed to. These were laid before the ministry, who were now publicly known to have fallen into a state of such distraction, that they had no opinions in common. Accordingly, they shifted the proposals from one to another, without coming to any determination; so that the company were obliged to state their offers in a petition to Parliament. Two sets of proposals for an agreement to last for three years were laid before the House: by the first, the company offered, after deducting 400,000*l.* a year in lieu of their former commercial profits, to divide equally with government the nett produce of all their remaining revenues and trade: by the second, they engaged to pay the specific sum of 400,000*l.* a year during the above agreement; but,

in either case, stipulating for some particular indulgence in their trade and in the recruiting service. These latter proposals were accepted by the House, with this difference only, that the agreement was limited to two, instead of three years; and a bill was passed accordingly. But whatever satisfaction the proprietors of East India stock derived from the parliamentary acceptance of their offer, it was in no small degree abated by other proceedings which took place soon after. A message from the ministry, recommending the company to make no augmentation of their dividend till their affairs were farther considered, not having produced the designed effect, two bills were brought into the House, one for determining the qualifications of voters in trading companies, and the other for farther regulating the making of dividends by the East India Company. Their late act was rescinded by the last of these bills, and they were tied down from raising their dividends above ten *per cent.* till the next meeting of Parliament. The avowed ends of imposing such a restraint on them were to prevent the payment of a higher dividend than the circumstances of the company could afford, without endangering their credit; to put a stop to the fluctuation of that stock, which, if allowed to go on, was not only likely to introduce a pernicious spirit of gaming, but would also tend to keep down the other stocks, the rise of which is a great means of reducing the interest of the national debt; and to guard against the company's encroaching, by any dividend, on the revenue of their late territorial acquisitions, so that the claim of the public might suffer no loss till that affair was finally decided. The bill was carried through, in spite of a powerful opposition, one of the secretaries of state and the chancellor of the exchequer being in the mino-

rity in the Lower House, and a strong protest, signed by nineteen lords, being entered against it in the Upper House.

Among the different expedients for raising the necessary supplies this year, which amounted to about eight millions and a half, some duties were laid upon glass, tea, paper, and painters' colours imported from Great Britain into America. These duties were equally impolitic and unproductive; but the conduct of the legislature towards one of the colonial assemblies, in another respect, was much more defensible. The factious spirit which the stamp-act had excited there was far from being mollified by the repeal; not content with many private acts of outrage, and repeated marks of disrespect to government, the assembly of New York came to a resolution of paying no regard to an act of last session for providing the troops with necessaries in their quarters; but regulated the provisions according to their own fancy. This was a clear proof of their intention to persist in disavowing the jurisdiction of the mother country. When the matter was laid before Parliament, it occasioned warm debates; and some rigorous measures were proposed. The general opinion, however, was to bring them to temper and to a sense of their duty by a firm, yet moderate procedure. On this principle a bill was passed, by which the governor, council, and assembly of New York were prohibited from passing any act till they had in every respect complied with the requisition of Parliament. a step, which, though confined to one colony, was a lesson to them all, and showed their comparative inferiority when brought in question with the supreme legislative power. As soon as this bill and some others of less importance received the royal assent on the 2d of July, the Parliament was prorogued.

In the speech, with which his Majesty closed the session, besides thanking the Commons for the supplies they had so cheerfully granted for the public service, he said, that his particular acknowledgments were due to them for the provision they had enabled him to make for the more honourable support of his family, alluding principally to three annuities of 8000*l.* each, which were settled on his brothers the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland, in addition to what they before received out of the civil list. It is remarkable that, on the second reading of the bill for this purpose in the House of Lords, a protest was entered against it, signed by Lord Temple only.

The Duke of York did not live long to enjoy the liberality of Parliament. Five days after the prorogation, he set out for the continent, different parts of which he had visited in the years 1764 and 1765. The courts of Brussels and France were the chief objects of his curiosity in this his last tour, and he was received at both with great magnificence and politeness. His death was ascribed to his having overheated himself by dancing at the chateau of a person of fashion near Toulon, whence he proceeded to Monaco, where he expired on the 17th of September. His body was embalmed; and being conveyed to England, was landed at Greenwich on the 2d of November, and privately interred, next evening, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. On the 2d of November, also, her Majesty was safely delivered of her fourth son, Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of Kent; by which the affliction of the royal family was much alleviated.

During the recess of Parliament, another death prematurely and unexpectedly happened on the 4th of September, which, it was supposed, would have proved fatal to a weak and disunited ministry. Charles Townshend, then chancellor of the exche-

quer, who seemed likely by his eloquence and abilities to supply the Earl of Chatham's place in the House of Commons, was cut off by a putrid fever, at the moment that the increase of his influence, and the critical posture of affairs, began to allow the fullest scope for the development of his talents and character. Mr. Burke, in one of his speeches, made a beautiful allusion to the rising effulgence of Mr. Townshend's genius and power, while those of the Earl of Chatham appeared to be rapidly declining. "Before this splendid orb," said the orator, "was entirely set, and while the western horizon was in a blaze with his descending glory, on the opposite quarter of the heavens arose another luminary, and, for his hour, became lord of the ascendant." But it was only a short hour: and the ministerial if not the political hemisphere was for some time left in darkness by his sudden disappearance.

At the meeting of Parliament on the 24th of November, when the principal point recommended to their attention from the throne was the relief of the people from the distresses occasioned by the high price of provisions, Mr. Conway, one of the secretaries of state, concluded his speech in support of the usual motion for an address of thanks, with a very high panegyric on the late Mr. Townshend's abilities, on the fertility of his resources, and the soundness of his judgment. He said that his much lamented friend had engaged to prepare a plan for the effectual relief of the poor in the article of provisions; and he had no doubt, if that great man had lived, but he would have been able to perform his promise: unfortunately for the public his plan was lost with him. A petition was presented from the city of London, complaining of the high price of provisions; acknowledging the wisdom and goodness of Parliament in the acts passed last session;

and humbly submitting some proposals for lessening the present evils, and for preventing a renewal of them. This subject was taken into consideration by a committee of the whole House; all the provision bills of the last session, both in regard to importation and exportation, were continued or amended; and a new bill was brought in for the importation of wheat and flour from Africa. Besides these expedients for lowering the high price of provisions, very little business of importance was transacted by Parliament before the holidays. The land-tax bill, the bill for continuing the former duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, the mutiny bill, and some others, received the royal assent on the 21st of December; after which the House of Lords adjourned to the 20th, and the Commons to the 14th of January. This recess afforded leisure for completing several changes that were already begun, or resolved upon, in the great offices of state, without any general disarrangement of the ministry. Lord Gower was induced to accept the president's chair, now cheerfully resigned by the Earl of Northington, whose age, infirmities, and long services, gave him just claims to retirement. Lord North had been promoted some days before to the late Charles Townshend's place as chancellor of the exchequer; and Thomas Townshend succeeded Lord North in the office of joint paymaster of the forces. Lord Weymouth was soon after nominated secretary of state for the northern department, in the room of General Conway, who was raised to a higher rank in the military line; the Earl of Hilsborough was appointed to the new office of secretary of state for the colonies, and Charles Jenkinson was made a lord of the treasury in the room of Thomas Townshend.

The most remarkable event that occurred on the European continent in this year, was the expulsion

of the Jesuits from the Spanish and Neapolitan dominions,—an event, not more extraordinary than unexpected. The whole world beheld with amazement a nation, not only the most violently attached to the Roman Catholic religion, but also to the principles, interests, and views of the court of Rome, suddenly destroy, and almost totally annihilate, a religious order, which had its birth and nurture in itself, and was eminently distinguished as the principal strength and support of the papal power. This order, which had so long ruled the cabinets, and guided the consciences of kings,—which had extended its influence into every quarter of the globe,—and which had great possessions and still greater connexions in the very country from which it was proscribed,—now saw its unhappy members fugitives, outcasts of mankind, refused admittance by almost every state in Europe, wandering about the seas, finding every port shut against them, and happy at length to find even a temporary asylum in the barren island of Corsica, or on the burning rocks of Malta. Though the least warning was not given of this revolution in Spain and Naples, yet it was preceded by some shocks which the same society met with in other popish countries, and which proved to be the forerunners of its final and universal extirpation. Soon after the accession of Joseph, the fifth king of the house of Braganza, to the throne of Portugal, that prince, less superstitious than most of his predecessors, banished the Jesuits from his court, because their brethren in Paraguay, where they acted as sovereigns, had opposed the cession of certain territories which he had exchanged with the King of Spain. It was not long before they became objects of a much severer proscription. In the beginning of the year 1759 all their estates and effects in Portugal were sequestered; and, except a few of

the leading members who were reserved for severer punishment, the society was driven out of the realm into perpetual exile, on account of its deep concern in a conspiracy against the King's life. The next blow, which may be said to have severed one of the proudest limbs of this religious body, was struck by the parliaments of France. The Jesuits had rendered themselves extremely odious and unpopular, not only by their doctrines, but by interfering in temporal concerns. During the late war, they carried on a very lucrative trade with the island of Martinico; but some of their vessels having been taken by the English cruisers in the years 1760 and 1761, the nominal proprietor became bankrupt for a considerable sum; and though, as a monk, he must have acted for the benefit of the whole society, they hoped, by that artifice, to elude payment. The parliaments eagerly seized this opportunity of humbling their spiritual enemies. The Jesuits were every where cited before those high tribunals in 1761, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. They seemed to acquiesce in the decision, but delayed payment under various pretences. New suits were commenced against them in 1762, on account of the pernicious tendency of their writings. In the course of these proceedings, which the King endeavoured in vain to stay, they were compelled to produce their *Institute*, or the rules of their order, hitherto studiously concealed. That mysterious volume, which was found to contain maxims subversive of all civil government, and even of the fundamental principles of morality, completed their ruin. All their colleges were seized, all their effects confiscated; and the King, ashamed or afraid to protect them, not only resigned them to their fate, but finally expelled them the kingdom, by a solemn edict, and utterly abolished their order in France. Still, how-

ever, the Jesuits seemed to remain immoveable on their grand centre in Spain. But, about the beginning of 1767, a resolution was formed by the cabinet of Madrid to give the last mortal, irrecoverable stab to the existence of the whole society. On the 31st of March, between eleven and twelve at night, all the houses belonging to them in Madrid were surrounded by troops. The outside doors having been forced open, the bells were secured, and a sentry was placed at the entrance of each cell. When every necessary precaution was taken, the Jesuits were called out of their beds, and acquainted with the King's orders, commanding their immediate departure for the papal dominions. In the mean time, all the hired coaches and chaises in the city, with several waggons, had been secured and distributed in proper places; so that the condemned exiles were sent to Carthagena early in the morning, under a strong guard. The whole was effected with such little noise or disturbance, that the inhabitants knew nothing of what passed, till they heard it to their great surprise when the affair was entirely over. On the third day after, in the morning, the same measures were put in execution at the same hour against the different colleges of the Jesuits throughout the rest of the kingdom. Ships were also provided, and the prisoners were conveyed to Italy. As the like rigour was to be enforced in every part of the Spanish dominions, abroad as well as at home, orders were sent to the sea-ports, to keep the strictest watch that no Jesuit in disguise should make his ecape. By these means any intelligence of what was transacting in the mother country was prevented from reaching the colonies, till the Jesuits in Mexico, Peru, and the southern provinces, were suddenly arrested, and brought home to the ports of Old Spain, to be sent after their brethren.

The treatment which this ill-fated society soon after met with in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and in the dutchy of Parma, was equally severe. They were stripped of their effects and possessions, and were then escorted to the confines of the ecclesiastical state. Such an inundation of strangers spread a general alarm, especially as the scarcity of corn there for some years past had been so great, that it was with the utmost care and difficulty the inhabitants could guard against a famine. The Pope, therefore, though strongly attached to their order, was obliged to forbid their reception in his territories; and prohibitory edicts, to the same effect, were issued by most of the Catholic powers of Europe. About 2000 of those fugitives, who at first found a miserable retreat in Corsica, were driven thence a few months after; and, to crown their disgrace and persecution, they were, last of all, proscribed at Malta, even though the sovereignty of it was vested in another religious order: so that there is scarcely an instance in history of any body of men so entirely cut off and separated from the rest of the human race. But the vengeance of the princes, whose resentment the Jesuits had provoked by their conspiracies, or whose avidity and jealousy they had excited by their wealth and power, was not yet sated. Urgent solicitations were made to the Pope for the utter abolition of their society; and, in order to enforce his compliance, Avignon was seized upon by France, and Benevento by Naples. Clement the Thirteenth persisted in a peremptory refusal, and thereby involved himself in a variety of disputes with most of the princes of his own communion. These disputes were terminated only by his death. The like applications were renewed to the famous Ganganelli, who succeeded to the papal chair in 1769. He also at first refused, declaring he could neither blame nor annihilate an in-

stitute which had been applauded and confirmed by nineteen of his predecessors. But this Protestant Pope, as Ganganelli was called, on account of the liberality of his sentiments, did not continue so inflexible as the deceased bigot. In the year 1773, he issued a bull for abolishing the order of Jesuits, charging them with having adopted opinions scandalous, contrary to good morals, and of dangerous import to the church, and to all Christian states.

The year 1768 inauspiciously opened with a specimen of that turbulent spirit, that disregard of legal authority, which, for want of being vigorously repressed on its first appearance, continued to spread itself during the whole year, till the utmost exertions of the civil power, aided by the military, were hardly sufficient to check its progress. In consequence of those jealousies which often prevail between persons engaged in different modes of executing the same manufacture, a violent animosity had subsisted between two classes of journeymen silk-weavers, the one denominated *engine-loom*, and the other *single-handed* weavers. A large body of the former, well-armed, having assembled on Sunday evening, the 3d of January, in Bishopsgate-street, proceeded to the houses of many of the latter, vowing vengeance against them for the destruction of their engine-looms in a scuffle where the *single-handed* weavers had the superiority. The assailants set no bounds to their fury on this occasion: they not only broke open doors and windows, but fired into several houses, wounding different persons, and dragging forth the objects of their resentment, whom they resolved to keep in custody; but most of their prisoners found means to escape in the night. Three only remained, who were carried, like offenders, next morning, before the sitting magistrates at the rotation-office in Whitechapel, and there charged with having been concerned

in destroying some of the engine-loom weavers' works. As the steps taken to bring them to justice were a much more dangerous breach of the peace, and a more flagrant violation of the laws, than the alleged crime, the riotous complainants ought to have been immediately committed, and punished with exemplary rigour; but the magistrates, frightened at the increase of the mob during the examination, sent for a party of the guards, and then, without taking any cognizance of the real offenders, obliged the three poor men, who had been dragged before them by a direct usurpation of the executive power, to give bail for their appearance to answer the above charge at the ensuing sessions. Such ill-timed lenity to the rioters, or rather such a cowardly connivance at daring acts of outrage, must have operated as a strong encouragement to farther disorders. The metropolis, for several months, exhibited nothing but scenes of tumult and confusion. Gangs of sailors, coal-heavers, sawyers, hatters, the idle and the profligate of every description, kept up an almost constant alarm: many lives were lost, and property was often destroyed with impunity upon those occasions. The remissness or timidity of the magistrates in the first instance, and the coming on of a general election, which unavoidably tends to relax the civil power, gave full scope to the licentiousness of the rabble, and rendered it at length necessary to apply the most violent remedies to so violent a distemper.

When the Parliament met after the holidays, the chief objects of attention were the provisions for the supplies granted to his Majesty. As the estimate somewhat exceeded 8,000,000*l.*, a loan of 1,900,000*l.* in addition to the former resources, and to the annual 4000,000*l.* from the East India Company, was found necessary; of which 600,000*l.* were to be raised by a lottery, and the remainder by redeem-

able annuities at three *per cent.* The interest of this new loan was charged on the sinking fund, out of which two millions and a quarter were also to be issued for the service of the current year, besides 1,800,000*l.* which were to be raised by exchequer bills, chargeable on the first aids of the next session.

The act restraining the dividends of the East India Company being now expired, a bill was brought in to continue the same restriction for the ensuing year; and, though violently opposed in both Houses, it was carried by a majority. But the ministry were more closely pushed on another point, which was introduced into the Commons, under the title of the *nullum tempus* bill, for quieting the possessions of the subject, and securing them from all obsolete claims, particularly those of the crown, against which it was held to be a maxim of law, that no proscription could be pleaded. It took its title from the old maxim, which the proposed bill was intended to overturn, "*nullum tempus occurrit regi,*" no time is a bar against the claims of the crown, and its object was to make sixty years' possession of any estate an effectual bar against all dormant claims and pretences whatsoever. The bill originated in a litigation between the Bentinck and Lowther families, who have at different times opposed one another with implacable enmity, from a violent ambition to give the law in the county where the principal estates of both are situated. The former had, in consequence of a grant from King William, possessed the Honour of Penrith in Cumberland and its appurtenances about seventy years. The forest of Inglewood and the manor and castle of Carlisle were also enjoyed by the same family for several descents, under the same supposed tenure, though not particularly mentioned in the grant. This omission was ascribed to a stroke of Dutch policy in King William, who having experienced the

jealousy of the Parliament and people of England on every mark of partial regard which he showed to his countrymen, might not choose to excite fresh clamours by too ample a specification of terms in a grant to his favourite. However that may have been, Sir James Lowther, who was well informed of the omission, applied to the lords of the treasury for a lease of the premises in question, which he obtained in consequence of the surveyor-general's report, that the said premises were not conveyed by the grant from King William to the first Earl of Portland, but were still invested in the crown. In the debate to which this incident gave rise, the ministerial speakers defended the conduct of the treasury board with great plausibility. The surveyor-general's report they looked upon as conclusive, particularly as the Duke of Portland had not been able to produce any title, though sufficient time had been allowed him for that purpose. But notwithstanding many specious arguments, the revival of the dormant prerogative of resumption appeared so alarming, because a vast number of estates might, from the loss of authentic deeds, be liable to similar claims, that it was with great difficulty, and by a majority of twenty voices only, that the ministry could obtain a postponement of the bill till the ensuing session.

Another circumstance occurs in the proceedings of the House of Commons at this period which may be thought worthy of notice, as it affords an instance of plain dealing on the part of a venal body of electors, which has been seldom paralleled. The corporation of Oxford had proposed to return their representatives at the next election, upon condition that they should advance a certain sum, for paying off an incumbrance which lay heavy on the city. The letter, containing this extraordinary offer, having been laid before the House, the magistrates who signed it were ordered to appear at the bar, and

then committed to Newgate. A petition being presented from the offenders, a few days afterwards, acknowledging their guilt, they were discharged, after receiving on their knees a proper reprimand from the speaker. He pointed out the enormity of their offence, and very justly observed, that a deeper wound could not possibly be given to the constitution than by such an open and dangerous attempt to subvert the freedom and independence of election.

Parliament having nearly completed the legal term of its existence, the King, on the 10th of March, notified his intention to call a new one forthwith, expressing, at the same time, his thanks for the many signal proofs they had given of their most affectionate attachment to his person, family, and government; their most faithful attention to the public service; and their most earnest zeal for the preservation of the constitution. At the close of the speech, the chancellor, by his Majesty's command, prorogued the Parliament; and, in two days after, it was dissolved by proclamation, and writs were issued for electing a new one, returnable the 10th of May.

During the winter, a popular bill was passed in Ireland for limiting the duration of parliaments in that kingdom to eight years, which before were determined only by the King's death. Lord Townshend, who was then lord-lieutenant, and who had very much endeared himself to the people by the conciliating manners that adorned his private character, became, in consequence, almost the idol of the nation, although Ireland had for a long time been far from tranquil. When the Earl of Northumberland was appointed lord-lieutenant in September, 1763, many outrages had been for some time committed by a set of licentious people, who assembled in the night in arms in different parts of

the island. They were indiscriminately distinguished by the names of White Boys and Levellers, because they wore linen shirts over their clothes, that they might know one another in the dark, and levelled all the enclosures which had encroached upon commons. They looked upon every diminution of a common as an injury to the poor, who had used to enjoy the benefit, and not only destroyed the fences, but robbed and maltreated the authors and proprietors of those encroachments. The lords justices had omitted no measure either of prudence or force to suppress these disorders, and some blood had been shed in different parts of the country, especially towards the north, where many of the rioters were seized upon and imprisoned by the regular forces; but the outrages continuing to increase in an alarming degree, a committee was appointed by the House of Commons to investigate the causes: their inquiries, however, produced no beneficial effects. The rioters next declared against the clergy's smaller tythes and church-dues, and obliged several clergymen to swear not to insist upon such demands. The spirit of insubordination extended even to Dublin, and the pensions on the Irish establishment furnished a constant theme of censure. It was alleged that they had been doubled since 1756, and several motions against these grants were made in the Irish Parliament, which passed in the negative. Government at length made some alteration in the system with respect to Ireland, and it was resolved, that, instead of committing the administration to the lords justices, the lord-lieutenant should himself be obliged to reside at the seat of government, a determination which gave great satisfaction to the people, and proportionate alarm to those whose unpopular authority it was intended to abridge. When Lord Chatham's administration was formed, a change in the repre-

sentation of Ireland was acceded to, and Lord Townshend, fully approving of the new system, accepted the appointment of lord-lieutenant. The octennial act speedily passed into a law, and was received with rapture by the people, particularly the lower class of voters.

As soon as the British Parliament was dissolved, the thoughts and business of the whole nation appeared to be confined to one object, the choice of representatives; and never, perhaps, was any general election carried on with greater heat and violence in most parts of the kingdom. The arts of intrigue, the efforts of faction, the utmost stretch of interest and authority, were exerted in the contests between rival candidates. Even corruption threw off her usual disguise, and stalked forth with unblushing front, and extended arm. It would be a painful, and almost endless task, to enumerate all the instances of popular frenzy, and of political depravity, that occurred on this occasion; but one of the elections was attended with such extraordinary circumstances as to deserve particular notice. Long previously to this period, Wilkes, by his flight from public justice, had provoked the severest sentence of the House of Commons, and had suffered the indictments laid against him in the court of King's Bench to run to an outlawry. In this situation, an exile from his country, distressed in his circumstances, and abandoned by his party, he seemed not only totally ruined, but nearly forgotten. A sudden ray of hope shot through these glooms, on the promotion of some of his former friends to office in the Marquis of Rockingham's administration. Goaded by extreme want, and encouraged by some intimations of kindness and pity, he came over to England in the summer of the year 1766. But his natural presumption, on the smallest prospect of success, defeated the whole purpose

of his journey, and he found it prudent to make good his second retreat to the continent. His hopes revived, when, in consequence of Lord Chatham's arrangements, the Duke of Grafton was placed at the head of the treasury; but he was again disappointed, though his humble petition to the new minister, to mediate his pardon from the King, was written in the most abject strain of servility and adulation. Irritated by these rebuffs, he published some bitter invectives against the first lord of the treasury, and several others of his political acquaintance, upbraiding them with inconsistency in their public conduct, and insincerity in their private friendship. He seasoned the language of reproach with a strong dash of that low wit and scurrility, of which, as before intimated, he was so perfect a master, and which he knew from experience would be highly relished by the populace. He was not mistaken. They read his libels with rapture, and began to glory once more in the spirit of their old champion. The alleged desertion of his friends served also to excite their compassion: they thought his sufferings out of measure; and though it was impossible to forget the proofs which had been blazed abroad of his horrid profligacy, they looked upon the exposure of it as a part of the punishment he had incurred by his attacks on much greater delinquents. Wilkes, whose private affairs were at this time in the most desperate situation, on being informed that the tide of popularity was taking a turn so much to his advantage, determined to make a bold attempt to benefit by it, sensible that if it failed of success, the consequences could not place him in a worse state than that in which he was already. In pursuance of this resolution, he suddenly appeared in London on the eve of the general election; and though he still lay under the sentence of outlawry, declared himself a

candidate to represent the city in Parliament. He was received by the mob with loud acclamations, and a great majority of hands appeared in his favour; but on the poll he was contemptuously rejected. He was fully consoled however, for this failure, by a subscription which had been opened for the payment of his debts, and by the earnest he had received of the attachment of the people. He immediately offered himself for Middlesex; and obtained a signal triumph over one of the old members. The populace, who had been very tumultuous during the contest, broke out into the most extravagant and lawless expressions of joy at the event. They paraded the streets of London and Westminster, compelling the inhabitants to illuminate, and demolishing the windows of such as did not do it immediately. At the mansion-house in particular, they committed great havoc, having not only destroyed the windows, but a large chandelier and some pier-glasses, to the value of many hundred pounds. Some months after, the tumults were again renewed on the death of Mr. Cooke, Wilkes's colleague, when Mr. Sergeant Glynn, who was only known as the friend and advocate of Wilkes, was returned after a severe struggle.

The conduct of the ministry during these transactions was unaccountably indecisive. After Wilkes's return to England, in open defiance of the laws, a pardon from the crown would have been considered rather as an act of weakness than of benignity. It was therefore the attorney-general's duty to have had him immediately taken up as an outlaw; a step strictly conformable to the ordinary course of justice. The popularity which he acquired or revived by appearing in public would have been prevented; and he might probably have continued as ignorant of his influence with the people, as they would in general of the strength of

their attachment to him. By neglecting at first so easy a mode of proceeding, the ministry were afterwards driven into the dangerous extremes of harshness and violence. On the first day of Easter term Mr. Wilkes appeared in the court of King's Bench, to submit himself, as he pretended, to the laws of his country; but, in reality, to make an inflammatory speech. As he was not brought legally before the court, no proceedings could then be had upon his case, and he was accordingly discharged. A few days after, Wilkes having been introduced into court in a legal manner, his counsel moved that he might be admitted to bail. The judges were of opinion, that neither he nor any person was bailable after conviction, and therefore ordered him to be committed to prison; but as he was going thither in a hackney coach, attended by two tipstaffs, the mob stopped the coach on Westminster Bridge, and taking out the horses, drew it along the Strand, and through the city to Spital Square, where they dismissed the tipstaffs, and carried their favourite in triumph to the Three Tuns Tavern. He took an opportunity, at a late hour, to withdraw in a private manner, and surrender himself to the marshal of the King's Bench. An immense crowd collected round the prison next day; and it was feared that they would proceed to some outrage. They behaved, however, very peaceably till night, when they pulled up the rails that enclosed the footway; made a bonfire of them; and obliged the inhabitants of the Borough to illuminate their houses. On the arrival of a captain's guard of 100 men, about twelve o'clock, they all dispersed.

Wilkes was not inactive, though in a prison. He took care to feed the flame he had kindled with fresh supplies of combustible matter. In an address to the freeholders of Middlesex, a week after his commitment, he descanted on his innocence and his suf-

ferings; on the happy fruits which he saw his countrymen reap from his labours and persecutions; and on the still greater services he should render them, if released from confinement. It was impossible to mistake the tendency of such an address, published on the 5th of May, just two days before a hearing was to come on at Westminster-hall respecting the errors of his outlawry, and five days before the meeting of the new Parliament. The populace behaved with tolerable decency at the trial, as their hopes were flattered by the appointment of a farther hearing the beginning of the next term; but in the forenoon of the 10th of May, they assembled in vast multitudes round the King's Bench, under the idea of seeing Mr. Wilkes go to the House of Commons. Having waited a long time in vain, they demanded him at the prison with loud clamours, and grew very insolent and tumultuous. Some justices of the peace, who attended for the purpose of preserving good order, thought it necessary, after enduring much outrage and personal injury, to read the riot-act; when the mob, highly exasperated, interrupted them with showers of stones and brickbats. The tumult increasing, the magistrates ordered the troops to fire, and about twenty persons were killed or wounded at the first discharge. Upon such occasions the innocent are unavoidably confounded with the guilty, and often fall the victims of idle curiosity and indiscretion. This is supposed to have been young Allen's fate. He had probably taken no part whatever in the affray; but happening to attract the notice of the military by his flight among others of the run-away mob, he was pursued and shot in a hovel or cow-house belonging to his father, in the very act of imploring mercy. This incident aroused the pity as well as the indignation of the public. His unfortunate death was heightened with all the force of

tragic description; the circumstances that preceded and followed it were painted in the most odious colours: it was alleged, that the justices had caused the riot by reading the riot-act, and that the military power, though kept up solely for the defence of the people, had been wilfully perverted to their destruction. The soldiers who were employed on the occasion being natives of Scotland, Lord Bute, always a great object of national jealousy, was charged with having employed his own countrymen to insult and massacre the people. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of wilful murder against the soldier who shot Allen, implicating in the guilt, as accessaries, another private soldier, and Alexander Murray, Esq. the commanding officer. The principal, Donald Maclane, was conveyed to prison, and it was with difficulty that he was protected from the fury of the people. The King, however, that he might support the dignity of the executive government, gave no encouragement to the prosecution. On the contrary, he blamed the licentiousness of the populace, and gave thanks to the commanding officer for his prudence and resolution. The magistrate who had authorized the troops to fire was indicted for murder, but all the persons implicated were, upon their trial, acquitted, in consequence, according to one party, of the justice of their cause—according to the other, of the disingenuous contrivances of government.

The first session of the new Parliament was opened by commissioners, who informed both Houses that his Majesty had not called them together at that unusual season to enter upon any matter of general business, but merely to dispatch certain parliamentary proceedings, which were necessary for the welfare and security of his subjects, alluding to several of the provision bills which were near expiring. The day after the meeting of Par-

liament, a proclamation was issued, by order of the council, for suppressing riots, tumults, and unlawful assemblies. Both Houses, in their joint address, returned his Majesty thanks for the gracious and paternal attention he had manifested for the prosperity of his people, which had indúced him to interpose his own more immediate authority for putting an end to that dangerous disturbance of the public peace, and those outrageous acts of violence, in defiance of the authority of the civil magistrates, which had of late prevailed to so alarming a degree, in and near the metropolis. The unanimity with which this address was agreed to by both Houses, and the equally unopposed re-election of Sir John Cust, as speaker to the Commons, were looked upon as fair presumptions of the strength of the ministry in the new Parliament. A compliment was also paid to the lord-mayor of London, in a vote of the House of Commons, thanking him for his vigilant and active conduct, in support of the laws and preservation of the public peace during the late disturbances: and his Majesty was addressed to order a compensation to be made to some magistrates, who had suffered losses by the populace, in consequence of the spirited discharge of their duty in the riots of St. George's Fields, and other places. The provision bills, for the renewal of which the Parliament had been assembled, having received the royal assent on the 21st of May, an end was put to the session.

The only notice taken of the imprisoned member, during this short session, was a motion made on the 18th, that the proper officer of the crown should inform the House, why the laws were not immediately put in force against John Wilkes, Esq. an outlaw, when he returned to the kingdom in February. But the House not appearing disposed to take cognizance of the matter, the question to

adjourn was put, and carried without a division. The attorney-general thereby escaped censure for his remissness: but he was not equally successful at the second hearing on the errors of Wilkes's outlawry in the court of King's Bench, about three weeks after. All the judges, though they differed as to their reasons, concurred in the reversal of the outlawry, and the irregularity of the proceedings. The verdicts, however, which had been given against Wilkes on the former trials for publishing the North Briton, and the Essay on Woman, were affirmed, the court being of opinion that the arguments urged by the prisoner and his counsel, in arrest of judgment, were inconclusive and frivolous. Wilkes was therefore sentenced to pay a fine of 500*l.* and to be imprisoned ten calendar months, in addition to two months which he had already passed in confinement, for the re-publication of the North Briton; and, for publishing the Essay on Woman, to pay likewise a fine of 500*l.* and be imprisoned twelve calendar months, to be computed from the expiration of the former term. He was afterwards to find security for his good behaviour during the space of seven years. Though this sentence was as mild as the malignant nature and dangerous tendency of those two publications could well admit of, it furnished Wilkes with a new subject of declamation on the harshness, the cruelty, and illegalities of the whole proceeding. The riots, which a spirit of turbulence had at first excited, were kept up by a spirit of delusion. Every step taken by government for the maintenance of good order was represented as a stride to arbitrary power. The ministry were even charged with secretly fomenting disturbances, not only in England, but in America, in order to have a pretence for extending beyond the Atlantic the iron hand of despotism; and their unwillingness to involve the kingdom in a war with

France for the relief of Corsica was ascribed to their detestation of all freemen, as well as to their pusillanimity and ignorance. The injustice of the former calumnies has been already exposed; but an inquiry into the grounds of the latter reproach will unavoidably lead to some details concerning the state of Corsica at this very interesting period of its history.

It had ever been the misfortune of the inhabitants of that island, or rather one of the necessary consequences of its situation, that they were in all ages a prey to foreigners. Doomed to be oppressed by every comer, their frequent attempts to recover their liberty served only first to weaken, and afterwards to transfer them to some more powerful tyrant. After a continued series of revolutions, Corsica fell into the hands of the Genoese, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The conduct of these republican governors was cruel, arbitrary, and impolitic; and evinced, that, though fond of boasting of the immense advantages of freedom, they seemed to think it too great a blessing to be communicated to others, and therefore exercised, for above four centuries, the most despotic authority. The Corsicans, however, were far from being passive during so long a course of oppression. They made the most strenuous efforts at different periods to shake off the yoke, and must have finally prevailed, had not the Genoese been assisted sometimes by the Imperialists, at other times by Swiss mercenaries, and lastly by the French, in quelling the insurgents. Still the spirit of liberty remained unsubdued; and though slaughter, ruin, and desolation, had often been spread over every part of the island, the Corsicans rose once more in the year 1755, and having invited Pascal Paoli, the son of one of their exiled generals, to take upon him the supreme command, they seemed resolved to esta-

blish their independency, or to terminate the struggle by a glorious death. A desultory kind of war was from that time carried on with various success; but these unfortunate islanders received a terrible blow in the proclamation issued by the King of England in 1762, under the administration of the Earl of Bute, prohibiting his subjects from giving aid or assistance in any shape to the "Corsican rebels." In 1764, the republic of Genoa, finding herself incapable of defending the few fortified places which then remained in her hands, entered into a treaty with France to send some battalions to secure them for four years. But before the expiration of that time, Paoli, though circumscribed in his operations by land, found means to form something like a marine force, with which he not only annoyed the trade of Genoa, but effected the conquest of Capraia, an island belonging to that republic on the coast of Tuscany. Soon after this loss, which happened in 1767, the Genoese concluded another treaty with the French King, by which they ceded to him the rights of sovereignty over Corsica, on condition of his putting them in possession of Capraia, and of his protecting their trade against the Corsican and Barbary cruisers. About the middle of the next summer, a considerable body of forces were sent from Toulon to take possession of a country, which was thus disposed of without the consent of the inhabitants. But these brave islanders were not intimidated by the number of their new invaders. At a general meeting of the whole nation, it was unanimously determined to defend their rights to the last extremity, and their subsequent exertions corresponded well with the boldness of this resolution. The annals of mankind scarcely afford any instances of military skill and heroism superior to those which were displayed, by Paoli and his adherents, in this unequal contest; but that

commander, and about 300 faithful associates of his fortune, being surrounded by a body of 4000 French troops, cut their way through by night, and effected their escape to Leghorn in an English ship. His brother, with a party of about 300 more, arrived there a few days after in another English vessel. The fugitives were hospitably received every where; and Paoli having chosen England for the place of his retreat, in the hope, as he said, of happier times, had an ample pension settled upon him by the King, as the reward of his bravery and patriotism.

In the midst of this struggle, which the people of England beheld with the utmost emotion, a violent outcry was excited against government for tamely permitting the King of France to rob the Corsicans of their inalienable rights, and to overturn the balance of power by annexing to his dominions an island that would give him considerable influence in the affairs of Italy, and a dangerous extension of control over the trade of the Mediterranean. These imputations, plausible as they appeared at first view, vanished before the light of candid and dispassionate inquiry. The heroic defenders of Corsica had certainly strong claims to the pity of a generous nation: but pity for a few brave men could hardly be deemed a sufficient motive, in the eye of policy and reason, for plunging half Europe into the calamities of war. As to the island itself, the acquisition seemed likely to prove rather a mischief than a benefit to France: its produce was of little value: the want of good harbours destroyed every idea of its maritime importance: so far from increasing the wealth or power of its late possessors, it had ever been considered as a ruinous appendage to the republic of Genoa: the fierce, invincible spirit of the natives, their abhorrence of the French government, and the facility

with which a few of their scattered parties could harass a numerous army, and elude its vengeance in their woods and mountains, were such discouraging circumstances, that nothing but the blindness and frenzy of ambition could ever have prompted Louis the Fifteenth to undertake the conquest. The loss of above 10,000 of his best troops, the expenditure of 18,000,000 of livres in the first stage of the enterprise, and the necessity of keeping a large body of forces in a state of perpetual vigilance and danger, were the terms on which that ambitious tyrant purchased the incomplete reduction of Corsica.

Some notice has been already taken of the acts passed in 1767 for laying certain duties on paper, glass, colours, teas, &c. imported from Great Britain into America. Those acts, however impolitic and ill-timed before the former ill humours had completely subsided, were strictly conformable to the distinction admitted by the colonists themselves, between raising money as the mere incidental produce of regulating duties, and for the direct purpose of revenue. But as soon as the doctrine was reduced to practice, and custom-houses were established in their ports for collecting those duties, they disavowed their former professions, and argued in a very different strain. "If," said they, "the Parliament of Great Britain has no right to tax us *internally*, it has none to tax us *externally;* and if it has no right to *tax* us without our consent, it can have none to *govern*, or to *legislate for us* without our consent." This was foreseen and pointed out by the strenuous opposers of the repeal of the stamp-act; and the conduct of the Americans fully verified their predictions. The people of Boston took the lead, as usual, in plans of resistance. They began by entering into a variety of combinations highly prejudicial to the commerce of the mother

country; and among other schemes for lessening and restraining the use of British manufactures, they resolved to reduce dress to its primitive simplicity, to retrench the expenses of funerals, to bring nothing from abroad which could by any means be obtained at home, and to give particular encouragement to the making of paper, glass, and the other commodities that were liable to the payment of the new duties, upon importation. These resolutions were adopted, or similar ones entered into, by all the old colonies on the continent; and, in the beginning of the year 1768, the assembly of Massachuset's Bay sent a circular letter to the other provinces, proposing a common union to prevent the effect, and to obtain a repeal of the late acts, which they represented as unconstitutional, and subversive of their natural and positive rights. The same assembly discovered still stronger marks of disaffection and revolt, on hearing a letter read from Lord Shelburne, one of the principal secretaries of state, to Sir Francis Bernard, the governor of the colony, which contained some very severe but just animadversions on their conduct. As the debates, to which the communication of this letter gave rise, were carried on without temper or decency, the governor, finding all his efforts to mollify the refractory spirit, at that time so predominant in the assembly, ineffectual, adjourned it. In the speech which he delivered upon this occasion, he complained greatly of some factious members, who, under false pretences of patriotism, had unhappily acquired too great an influence, as well in the assembly, as among the people; who sacrificed their country to the gratification of their passions, and to the support of an importance which could have no existence but in times of trouble and confusion.

Advices of all those proceedings having been

transmitted to England, Lord Hillsborough, the new secretary of state for the American department, wrote a circular letter to the governors of all the colonies; in which his Majesty's dislike to the letter of the Massachuset's assembly was expressed in the strongest terms. The assemblies acted in direct contradiction to the wishes of their sovereign. They expressed their approbation of the conduct of the Massachusets, and passed several votes and resolves according with the spirit of the letter received from Boston. Some of them returned addresses to the secretary of state, boldly justifying such conduct; and the assembly of New York went even so far as to appoint a committee of correspondence, to consult with the other colonies on the measures to be pursued in the present crisis; upon which that assembly was immediately dissolved. Another letter of the same date (April 22) was written by Lord Hillsborough to Governor Bernard, in which, besides the former exceptions to the circular letter of the assembly at Boston, it was delicately intimated, that his Majesty thought some unfair means must have been employed to carry such a measure, either by surprise, or through a thin house of representatives, as it departed so widely from the spirit of prudence and respect to the constitution, that seemed to have influenced a majority of the members in a full house, and at the beginning of the session. The governor was also directed to require, in his Majesty's name, that the new assembly would rescind the resolution which gave birth to the offensive letter, and declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to, so rash and hasty a proceeding: but in case of their refusal to comply with his Majesty's reasonable expectation, the governor had orders to dissolve them immediately, and to transmit a copy of their proceedings to be laid before Parliament. These instructions having

been communicated to the assembly in the latter end of June, the question for rescinding the resolution of the last house was negatived by a majority of ninety-two to seventeen. A letter was then resolved on to Lord Hillsborough, containing several strictures on the requisition made to them, which they alleged to be unconstitutional and without precedent; and intermixing some affected professions of loyalty with the strongest remonstrances against the late laws. They were also preparing a petition to the King for the removal of their governor, when they were suddenly dissolved. The popular ferment was greatly increased by another occurrence which took place on the 10th of June. A sloop called the Liberty, laden with wine from Madeira, was seized under the authority of the board of customs for a false entry; and being cut from her moorings, was conveyed, by the order of the commissioners, under the guns of the Romney, a ship of war, then lying in Boston harbour. A violent riot ensued, in which the mob burned the collector's boat before the door of Mr. John Hancock, the owner of the sloop, pelted the commissioners with stones, and compelled them, for the security of their lives, to take refuge at first on board the Romney, and afterwards at Castle William, a fortress on a small island contiguous to the town. The temper and conduct of the people became every day more licentious. Town meetings were held, and a remonstrance was presented to the governor, insolently requiring him to issue an order for the immediate departure of the Romney. That republican spirit to which this colony owed its foundation, and the levelling principles in which the inhabitants were nursed, being now operated upon by the exercise of lawful authority, which they called oppression, and being inflamed by the arts of designing men, who had great influence among them, they seemed equally inca-

pable to prescribe due limits to their passions, and to preserve a proper decency in the manner in which they expressed them. Their public writers, as well as speakers, endeavoured to supply the want of wit and genius by ribaldry, and introduced a style and manner peculiar to themselves, too intemperate for argument, too burlesque for serious composition. In some of these productions, while they appeared, on one hand, to forget their dependance as colonies, and to assume the tone of distinct and original states; on the other, they eagerly claimed all the benefits of the English constitution, and the highest rights of Englishmen, but did not recollect that it was that dependance which entitled them to a share of those rights and benefits. The natural effects of such sentiments and language being justly apprehended, two regiments were ordered from Ireland to support the civil government, and several detachments from different parts of the continent met at Halifax for the same purpose. Upon the first intimations of this measure, an alarm was spread amongst the inhabitants of Boston and of the whole province, that their property, their liberties, and their lives, would soon lie at the mercy of the bayonet; and that no alternative would be held out to them but a servile submission or death. Under these impressions a great multitude of people of all ranks crowded together at a meeting at Faneuil-hall, when, the governor having refused to convene a general assembly, they drew up a long catalogue of their grievances; protested against keeping an army in the province without their consent; ordered the select-men of Boston to write to the select-men of the several towns within the province, recommending the speedy choice of committees, another name for representatives, to form a convention; appointed Messrs. Otis, Cushing, Hancock, and Adams, their late members, to act for

them in that capacity; and concluded their proceedings with a vote for a day of public prayer and fasting, and with a requisition to the people, under the pretence of an approaching war with France, to prepare arms, ammunition, and every other accoutrement necessary in cases of sudden danger. The inhabitants of Hatfield refused to concur in these transactions, and their spirited and judicious reply to the select-men of Boston, will be a lasting monument of the prudence and good sense which influenced their conduct. In the same province, about 100 towns and districts agreed to the proposal of a convention, and immediately appointed committee-men, a great number of whom met at Boston on the 22d of September. Their first act was a message to the governor, in which they disclaimed all pretence to authority; but said they were chosen by the several towns, and came freely, at the earnest desire of the people, to consult and advise the most effectual measures for promoting peace and good order, as far as they lawfully might, under the very dark and threatening aspect of public affairs: they then reiterated the detail of their grievances, and urged the absolute necessity of his convening without delay a general assembly, which they looked upon to be the only means of preventing the most unhappy consequences to the parent country and to the colonies. The governor refused to receive any message from an assembly, the legality of which he could not allow, but admonished them by letter, as a friend to the province, and a well-wisher to the individuals of it, to break up their meeting instantly, and to separate before they did any business. He said, he was willing to believe that the gentlemen who had issued the summons for this meeting were not aware of the high nature of the offence they were committing; and that those who had obeyed them did not consider

the penalties they should incur, if they persisted in continuing their session: at present, ignorance of law might excuse what was past; a step farther would take away that plea. He asserted, that a meeting of the deputies of the towns was an assembly of the representatives of the people, to all intents and purposes; and that the calling it a committee of convention could not alter the nature of the thing. At the conclusion of his letter, he informed them, that, if they paid no regard to this friendly admonition, he must, as governor, assert the prerogative of the crown in a more public manner. This remonstrance produced another message, in which they attempted to justify their meeting; begged the governor to be sparing of his frowns on their proceedings; and desired explanations of the criminality with which they were charged. The governor repeated his former refusal to receive any message from an illegal assembly; upon which they appointed nine of their number to draw up a report on the causes and express objects of their meeting. This report being made on the 26th of the same month, a letter, with a representation of their transactions and grievances, in which was enclosed a petition to his Majesty, to be delivered in person, was forwarded to their agent in London; and on the 29th the convention dispersed.

The day the convention broke up, the fleet from Halifax, consisting of several frigates and transports with two regiments and a detachment of artillery on board, arrived in the harbour. Quarters were procured for the troops by contract with private persons; and the council, upon that footing, allowed them barrack provisions. General Gage arrived soon after, as did the two regiments from Ireland. The factious and disorderly were, by these means, for some time intimidated: the sol-

diers behaved with the utmost discretion; and a tolerable harmony seemed to subsist between them and the inhabitants.

While things remained in this state abroad, administration at home received a new shock from the clash of those discordant principles, on which it had been framed by the Earl of Chatham. The Duke of Grafton and Lord Shelburne, though introduced into their respective offices as his friends, and by his desire, were never cordially united. The latter had lately taken particular offence at the rejection of his advice to oppose the invasion of Corsica, and at the disregard of his recommendation of Lord Tankerville to succeed Mr. George Pitt as ambassador at Turin. A marked preference was shown to the Duke of Bedford's application in favour of Sir William Lynch. Lord Shelburne, upon this, retiring in disgust, his place was supplied by Lord Weymouth, from the northern department; and the Earl of Rochford, late ambassador at Paris, was appointed successor to Lord Weymouth. In a few days after, Lord Chatham, who had long been prevented by bodily infirmities from attending to public business, resigned the privy-seal, which was immediately delivered to his friend, the Earl of Bristol. As these changes took place just before the meeting of Parliament, they excited a variety of conjectures, and gave a serious turn to public conversation, which for the last two months had been chiefly engrossed by the King of Denmark's visit to England, and by the scenes of festivity and magnificence displayed on that occasion.

Parliament met on the 8th of November; and one of the first objects pressed upon their notice, in the speech from the throne, was to resume the consideration of those great commercial interests which had been entered upon before, but which the shortness of the last session of the late Parliament

had prevented from being brought to a final conclusion. It was delicately hinted, that other powers had not been as careful as his Majesty, to avoid taking any step that might endanger the general tranquillity, though they continued to give the strongest assurances of their pacific dispositions towards Great Britain. The speech next alluded to the unhappy disturbances in North America, and recommended harmony and union. The only point in this speech which may be thought to require some little illustration, is the hint given of the danger that threatened the general repose of Europe. Two of the greatest empires of the East and the North were at this moment preparing for war. The miserable country of Poland had been for some time the theatre of a contention, not more destructive in its consequences, than singular in its causes and pretexts. Spiritual tyranny first kindled the flame, and civil discord supplied it with fresh fuel: the despotic power of Russia affected to become the guardian of Polish freedom; and the Catholic religion fled for protection to the standard of Mahomet. Notwithstanding the earnestness with which the King had recommended harmony to his Parliament, the spirit of opposition manifested itself strongly on the motion for an address of thanks. The conduct of the ministry, in respect both to foreign affairs and those of the colonies, was censured with great acrimony. Their backwardness to assist the Corsicans was called a criminal acquiescence in a most dangerous breach of treaty, and in the spreading and baneful influence of the family compact: some injuries said to be sustained by English merchants trading to Portugal, and the non-residence of one or two ambassadors at the courts to which they had been appointed, were urged as proofs of the little attention paid to the foreign interests of Great Britain, and with regard to America, the

steps taken to induce obedience, it was asserted, were calculated to provoke rebellion. The addresses were, however, agreed to by both Houses.

On the 14th of November, a petition was delivered from Mr. Wilkes, containing a recapitulation of all the proceedings against him, from the time of his having been apprehended by a general warrant till his late commitment to prison. This produced an order for the proper officers to lay before the House a copy of the records of the proceedings in the court of King's Bench. The journals and resolutions of the House in 1763, relative to the same subject, were also examined; and a day was appointed for hearing the matter of the petition, of which notice was ordered to be given to Wilkes, and to a great number of persons who were concerned as actors or witnesses in those transactions. In the mean time, Mr. Webb, late secretary to the treasury, against whom a heavy charge was laid of suborning and bribing with the public money one of Wilkes's servants, having petitioned for an opportunity to vindicate himself at the bar of the House, and application being also made by Wilkes for leave to attend in order to support the allegations of his petition, the requests of both were complied with, and liberty of counsel was allowed them for their respective purposes. The hearing of the petition was put off to the 27th of January. This delay could not be avoided, as the merits of the disputed elections, many of which were violently contested, took up so much time, that Parliament had not leisure to attend even to any of the objects recommended to them from the throne, except the renewal of the provision-bills, to prevent a return of the scarcity from which the people had been providentially relieved. A committee of the whole House of Commons had, indeed, been formed early in the session, for the purpose of an inquiry into Ameri-

can affairs: but this subject, though of far greater importance than Wilkes's petition, was also necessarily deferred. That gentleman's appeal on a writ of error to the House of Lords, admitting of a very short and easy decision, was heard on the 21st of December, when the judgment of the court of King's Bench was affirmed in both sentences; and next day the Parliament adjourned to the 19th of January.

As Lord Chatham still remained confined by illness, he had not been able, since his resignation, to give any public proofs of his hostility to the ministry whom he had deserted; but there could be no doubt of his intending, upon the recovery of his health, to join the standard of opposition. That standard was now upheld by the Marquis of Rockingham, who became leader of what was called the old Whig party, in consequence of the Duke of Newcastle's death about the middle of November. The chancellorship of the university of Cambridge having become vacant by the same event, the Duke of Grafton was unanimously chosen to fill that honourable office. The university of Dublin had lately given the Duke of Bedford a similar testimony of their high esteem.

On the 13th of May, the royal family sustained another loss in the death of the Princess Louisa Anne, second sister of the King; and in August died the pious and learned Dr. Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, to which prelacy Dr. Frederic Cornwallis was translated from the see of Litchfield and Coventry.

In August this year the celebrated navigator Cook, then a lieutenant, sailed on his first exploratory voyage, accompanied by Messrs. Banks and Solander, being a portion of those voyages of discovery which so much distinguished this reign, and of which the expeditions of Captain Byron, and of

Captains Wallis and Carteret in 1762 were the commencement.

One of the most memorable events that distinguished the year 1768, was the institution of the Royal Academy, in December, under the King's immediate patronage, and subject to the directions of forty artists of the first rank in their several professions. The great object of this institution, which will reflect immortal honour on the taste and munificence of its illustrious founder, was the establishment of well-regulated schools of design, where students in the arts might find proper instruction, and the best helps as well as incentives to aspiring genius, without going in search of them to foreign countries. Here the pupils had the finest living models, and choice casts of the most celebrated antiques to copy after. Nine academicians elected annually from amongst the forty were to attend the schools by rotation, to set the figures, to examine the performances of the students, to promote their improvement, and to turn their attention towards that branch of the arts in which they appeared most likely to excel. Professors of painting, of architecture, of perspective, and of anatomy, were also appointed, with liberal salaries, to read annually a certain number of public lectures in the schools; and the admission to these and all the other advantages of the institution was made free to every person properly qualified to benefit by the studies there cultivated. That nothing might be wanting to rouse and encourage emulation, prizes were held out to those who made the nearest approaches to excellence; and the discourses, delivered at the annual distribution of them by the president, Sir Joshua Reynolds, were well calculated to fan the flame of youthful ardour, to unfold the true principles and laws of composition, to strengthen the judgment, refine the taste, and impress upon the

fancy the strongest images of that ideal perfection, which, as he himself said, it is the lot of genius always to contemplate, and never to attain. Under such a master, whose precepts were so happily illustrated by his own practice, it is no wonder that the English school soon rose to the highest degree of celebrity, and exhibited models of beauty and grandeur which may be fairly put in competition with the most admired productions of any age or any country.

END OF VOL. I.

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